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The Habsburg Re-Making of the East at Schloss Schönbrunn, "or Things Equally Absurd"

AARON M. HYMAN

In the mid-eighteenth century, the Habsburg court in Vienna busied itself cutting up rare Mughal miniatures. These Indian paintings had been precious cargo brought on Dutch ships that portered spices and porcelain from the East. But at the Habsburg Schloss Schönbrunn scissors and knives were taken to over two hundred and fifty such miniatures, likely amassed for this purpose. Distressingly destructive as such snipping and slicing may now seem, the Mughal objects were dissected with care, stripped to components that could be collaged into new compositions to fill irregularly shaped supports, which were inserted into *rocaille* frames in the paneling of the palace's Millionenzimmer (Fig. 1). A gilded meander creeps around the room, framing the assemblages and unifying the group of sixty in an all-encompassing design, illusionistically multiplied by two large mirrors that reflect the lobed panels between them.

Though it has long been surmised that imperial family members created these lavish collages, scholars have disagreed about their exact degree of participation. Due to a typical lack of written evidence, attribution to royal makers is generally tricky; because such creations were personal affairs, they did not require acts of commission that generate paper trails. To doubt, however, that the imperial family played a seminal role in decoupaging the compositions for these panels is rather odd; decoupage was so wildly popular with elite practitioners in this period as to make it a natural fit at court, and it is well known that the Viennese Habsburgs routinely got their hands dirty making art.[1] Far from mere patrons, imperial family members produced a sizable proportion of the decorative elements for Schönbrunn's private east wing.[2]

Indeed, the walls of the Porzellanzimmer, directly adjacent to the Millionenzimmer, are lined with equally remarkable and securely attributed imperial creations: chinoiserie compositions by the Emperor Franz Joseph, the Archduchess Maria Christine, her husband Albert of Sachsen-Teschen, and Isabella of Parma, wife of Archduke Joseph (Fig. 2). Blue gouache on white Dutch paper emulates the visual effects of porcelain, from which the room takes its name. The 212 sheets were framed and mounted into vertical columns separated by chinoiserie plaster garlands. The result is a witty conceit simulating an imperial porcelain cabinet despite the absence of a single piece of actual porcelain. The majority of the room's sheets were copied from chinoiserie prints designed by François Boucher and Jean Pillement. An inscription in one of these copied compositions proclaims: "Chinese Figures Drawn From Boucher and Pillement. Painted in 1763 by his Majesty the Emperor, the Archduchess, and the Archduchess Maria" (Figs. 3, 4).[3] Moreover, portrait roundels of the four imperial copyists, complete with names and titles, were installed in the room in 1772 to celebrate their accomplishment.[4]

Claims this direct are at once rare and fortuitous, but not the only way to access imperial authorship. More important, amateur making in elite contexts almost always involved professionals—ranging from court craftsmen to renowned artists—who were called on to train and correct the amateur touch.[5] Authorship was often granted to these amateurs for products that might have been anything from their own dirt-under-fingernails handwork

1 Millionenzimmer, Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna (photograph by Erich Lessing, provided by Art Resource, NY)

2 Porzellanzimmer, Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna (photograph by Alexander Eugen, © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H.)

3 Franz Joseph, Maria Christine, Albert of Sachsen-Teschen, and Isabella of Parma, *Figures Chinoises Tirées D'après Boucher et Pillement*, 1763–65, graphite and blue gouache on paper, 13½ × 9½ in. (34 × 24.5 cm). Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna, MD 056780/000 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H., with permission of the Bundesmobilienverwaltung)

4 Jean Pierre Louis Laurent Hoüel, after François Boucher, frontispiece of *Suitte de Figures Chinoises*, Paris: Gilles Demarteau, mid-18th century, etching and engraving, image, 8¾ × 6⅞ in. (22.3 × 17.5 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949, 49.108.2(41) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

to something more akin to managerial oversight;[6] there are infamous cases of amateurs taking full credit for artworks that obviously involved the careful intervention of tutors.[7] The exercise of taste in choosing images and how to use them itself constituted a form of artistry; under that rubric, the imperial family members can without doubt be considered the authors of the works in these rooms. But there is ample reason to think the Habsburgs took knives and scissors in hand themselves.

As will become clear, the Millionenzimmer is a twin with the Porzellanzimmer in a coherent ideological program in which making was central to the aesthetic self-formation of imperial subjects. The rooms together represent the pinnacle artistic achievements of a learned court, and their decorative schemes cannot be understood without recognizing how they worked in concert. While each room has received individual attention, scholars have not discerned their iconographic, technical, and conceptual entanglement and have thus also overlooked a mechanism through which to assess the authorship of the Millionenzimmer collages. Yet the rooms were conceived as a pair in the eighteenth century, quite literally connected by a hidden door built into the Millionenzimmer's paneling. Moreover, their uses were complementary. The Millionenzimmer functioned as the residential wing's most public space, where Empress Maria Theresa received guests and held fetes; the Porzellanzimmer served as a small retreat in which she focused on her extensive correspondence.[8] The rooms are also linked by the collages and copies lining their walls, which represent an ongoing artistic engagement with "Eastern" sources, albeit of distinct kinds: Mughal miniatures on the one hand and chinoiserie prints on the other.

The eighteenth century emphasized the ways refined society interacted with objects—what has been called "the work of leisure"—as a means of performative self-definition.[9] In making rather than simply consuming objects fit for a palace, the Habsburgs upped the ante on that relationship. A period understanding held that artist and artwork were mutually constitutive: the maker worked on the made and the object worked back on its maker. As the aesthetic perfectibility of art became increasingly tied to the perfectibility of the self and even the body, how one chose to engage in making art became an important factor in developing good judgment, vital to personal and communal cultivation. The refinement of the imperial body and, in turn, the body politic is here seen to take place at an intersection between paper, scissors, graphite, and brushes.

In Vienna, imperial self-formation through artistic practice was complicated by the introduction of foreign source materials into this matrix of aesthetic concerns. Working with Mughal paintings and chinoiserie prints enabled a particular type of cultural engagement with "the East," a more literal *contact* through the process of cutting, pasting, drawing, and painting. Practices of copying and collaging were carefully chosen to allow imperial artists to engage difference without assuming alterity. Varying degrees of otherness in source materials required correspondingly distinct techniques of artistic discipline. The result was that Mughal miniatures were cut up and reconfigured and chinoiserie prints were copied. These acts were well suited to a culture that, in the famous words of Katie Scott, "played at otherness in order to be more essentially, more perfectly itself."[10] Pointing to an eighteenth-century imbrication of European and Eastern pictorial systems destabilized such a stark binary; at Schönbrunn, imperial family members nevertheless found it necessary to develop strategies for handling objects and visual effects perceived as foreign so as to create pictorial idioms suitable for an enlightened European palace.

To understand the art of the Millionenzimmer and Porzellanzimmer, then, one must shift away from a traditional view of foreign luxury goods as mere objects of conspicuous consumption or screens against which to project imperial ideology. Instead,

the works of these rooms are here viewed as complicated sites of making in a process of imperial formation that required courtly actors to maneuver within an age of globalized aesthetics. Contextualizing the resulting images within period discourses on copying and cutting while exposing their ideological functions in these rooms firms up the attribution of the Mughal collages to imperial hands; but, more important, doing so complicates ideas of imperial craft as either simple leisure-time activity or assured act of imperial self-aggrandizement.

Grasping the roles these objects played at the court and the cross-cultural dynamics in which they participated requires that the art historian linger with patience in the space of making. Reverse-engineering the production of the Schönbrunn pictures illuminates how close physical and aesthetic contact was navigated by imperial hands. That means taking amateur craft seriously, subjecting it to the same scrutiny of form, style, and composition as one would an eighteenth-century academic masterpiece. Furthermore, coming to terms with what each step of making meant for amateur artists demands reading craft manuals alongside treatises on art and aesthetics, parsing them with equal intensity and rigor. To splice such sources together is to make a collage on a unified plane, one that allows for the reconstitution of the sensorial armature with which imperial makers approached their task and the materials with which they worked.

"... IF THIS CONTINUES THEY WILL CUT UP RAPHAELS"

Works of art in imperial contexts are almost invariably understood as tools of political legitimation, serving as coded messages for audiences familiar with markers of power. When drawn into these contexts, objects, materials, and aesthetic systems of other cultures either project affinity through comparison or are used to produce measured distance and evince superiority. Irrespective of the exact valences or potential ambiguities of such artworks, there is seldom doubt that rulers expected them to construct or reify status and power. The principal investment of previous explorations of the Millionenzimmer collages has been in determining exactly what "Mughal," "India," and "the East" meant at Maria Theresa's court and thus how these collages expressed the empress's political supremacy.[11]

The perhaps predictable answer is that "India" could mean many things, given that in the eighteenth century visions of the subcontinent and its products could be parsed in either positive or pejorative terms.[12] India could be the land of the great Mughal ruler Aurangzeb, whose imagined wealth and absolutism were the stuff of legend and envy in Europe.[13] Or the Viennese courtier could read of despotic and uninspiring princes, like the fictitious Shah Baham of Crébillon's 1742 bestselling *Le Sopha*.[14] It is unclear which vision Maria Theresa and her court would have preferred, but it hardly matters.[15] Whatever connotations the Mughal miniatures provoked would have served to stress Habsburg excellence, either via Maria Theresa's comparability to a ruler like Aurangzeb or her moral superiority to the likes of a Shah Baham.

Yet to parse the Millionenzimmer's collages in this way is to imagine that technique and making played little role in rhetoric and representation. In the rare cases that scholars have looked closely at their facture, it has ironically been in service of overcoming it, of looking past imperial interventions in the hopes of seeing Mughal miniatures in their original state so that they might be considered within a history of Indian art.[16] But eighteenth-century audiences were primed to think about collage or, more properly, decoupage as a physical and material practice, one that had become exceedingly popular and taken on distinct valences in Europe.

Amateur artists in France took to the technique with particular vigor, such that an open letter was published in the Parisian periodical *Mercure de France* in 1727 to explain the craze. Addressing an unnamed marquise, one Monsieur Constantin expounds:

> You have asked, Madame, about certain works which someone told you currently occupy the women of Paris and of the court. These works, Madame, are called *Découpures*. It is here the great, and practically the only, occupation of women, and of some men who also take part. . . . All that is wanted is *découpure*. One makes of them . . . screens, veneers, wall coverings, ceiling pieces, the siding of carriages, chairs; finally, they are placed everywhere.[17]

To supply a growing demand among amateur artists, a dedicated sector of the print industry developed to provide fodder for cutting and pasting. The use of these prints extended well beyond Parisian circles and persisted through the century.[18] Printmakers in southern Germany specialized in *Ausschneidebogen*, printed sheets filled with all manner of figures, objects, and settings for artists to cut out and reassemble.[19] Johann Georg Krünitz's sprawling *Oekonomische Encyklopädie* dedicates an independent entry to "cut-out images [*Ausgeschnittene Bilder*]": "engravings, which are made only to be cut out, and which are pasted to pasteboard, wood, walls, etc. One passes over them with adhesive and then with a varnish until everything is smooth like a mirror."[20]

Facture and iconography linked this thoroughly European practice to the East. Designers of decoupage prints capitalized on the fashion for chinoiserie, churning out endless supplies of prints featuring "Eastern" figures and motifs. Furthermore, when print assemblages were varnished in several layers, they resembled Asian lacquerware; decoupage was thus frequently referred to as japanning, placing it into dialogue with another prized craft of Eastern culture.[21] Often, enough varnish was used to make the cut paper beneath hardly detectable. In order to streamline production, even professional craftsmen therefore began to use prints on furniture both large and small instead of hand painting decorative motifs.[22]

5 Jean Pillement, *Romantic Rocks Form'd by Art to Embellish a Prospect*, from Robert Sayer, *The Ladies Amusement; or Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy*, London: Robert Sayer, 1760, pl. 44, etching and engraving, hand-colored, trimmed, 7½ × 11 in. (19 × 27.8 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933, 33.24 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

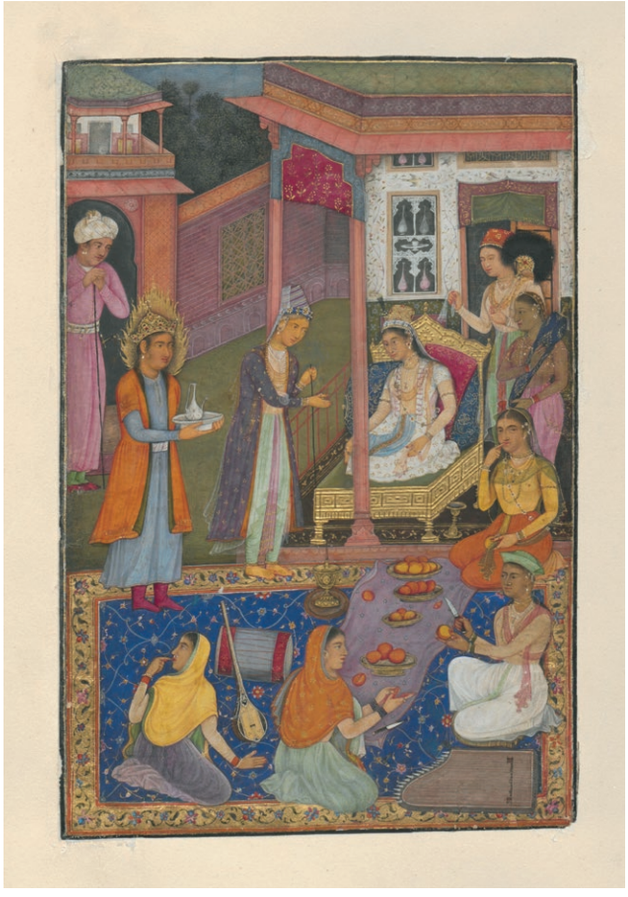
In 1760, roughly contemporaneous with the production of the Millionenzimmer's panels, the British publisher Robert Sayer released *The Ladies Amusement; or, Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy*. The book contains more than fifteen hundred patterns that could be cut out, along with a preface offering instructions on how to collage and varnish.[23] The decoupager could choose from birds, flowers, figures, boats, and even whole landscapes, as well as prearranged scenes, many labeled as Chinese, Japanese, or Indian (with little formal distinction). One page of *The Ladies Amusement*, for example, features a complete landscape showing "Romantic Rocks" already "form'd by Art to Embellish a Prospect" that could be entirely or partially cut out (Fig. 5).

Given the fad for decoupage among the European aristocracy, it is not hard to imagine the Habsburgs in Vienna, prodigious participants in the arts, taking up scissors and knives and getting to work with (or against) such Eastern scenes.[24] More definitely, we know that the imperial family members worked specifically with Sayer's decoupage volume because they used several of its sheets as models for their copywork in the adjacent Porzellanzimmer,

drawing the rooms into an even closer connection.[25] Not only the book was present at Schönbrunn—and used by the imperial artists—but also the designer of its printed compositions, Jean Pillement.

From 1763 to 1765, while in residence in Vienna, Pillement was involved in the practice and display of imperial making.[26] He designed the plaster reliefs that frame the chinoiserie copies in the Porzellanzimmer, and it has therefore often been surmised that he simultaneously tutored the Habsburgs in draftsmanship.[27] This was an apt moment for him to have done so, as Sayer also released a drawing manual in 1762 for which Pillement, just prior to departing for Vienna, contributed twelve designs.[28] The imperial family at Schönbrunn took up Sayer's instructional materials for decoupage and did so, in all likelihood, under the supervision of the prints' designer; but prints like Sayer's that were "form'd by Art" presented an insufficient challenge to the palace's adroit collagers; as we will see, such chinoiserie motifs were better suited to copying than to cutting up for reassemblage.

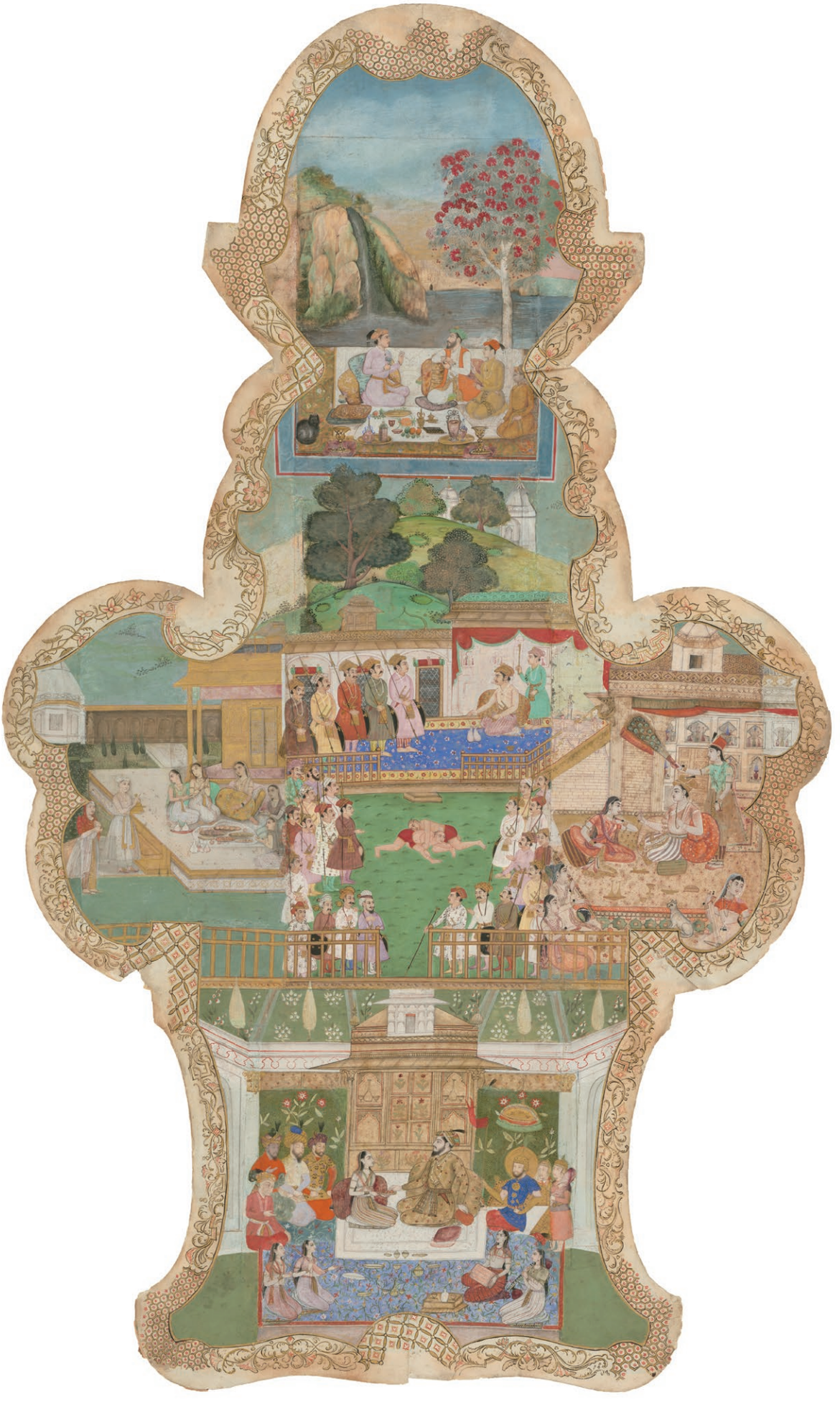
The imperial family's choice to craft the Millionenzimmer collages by slicing up and recombining Mughal miniatures rather than prints, such as Sayer's, featuring Eastern-inspired designs has no direct historical parallel. Nevertheless, in so doing, the Habsburgs took part in something of an arms race for precious source materials. As decoupage and the prints designed for this activity became more popular, in all senses of the word, elite practitioners distinguished themselves by cutting up ever more luxurious objects.[29] In a 1727 letter, the Parisian Charlotte-Elisabeth Aïssé describes amateur artists outdoing one another through the procurement of choice materials: "One is here in a fury for the fashion of decoupaging colored prints . . . one makes wall hangings, veneers, screens; there are books of prints that cost up to 200 pounds, and women who have the madness to cut up prints of 100 pounds per piece; if this continues they will cut up Raphaels."[30] Despite Aïssé's outrage, one senses distinct titillation at the taboo deployment of fine things for the whimsy of modish craft.

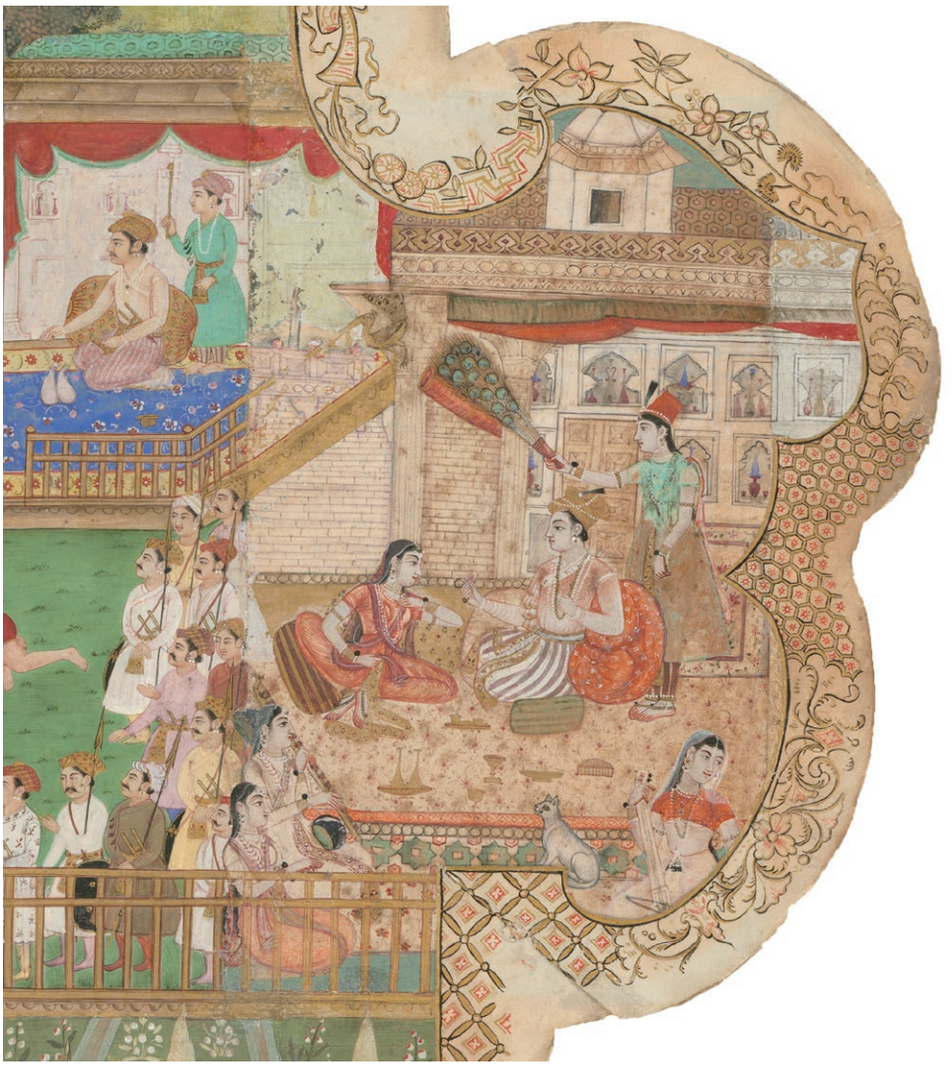


6 *Courtly Scene*, Cod. min. 64, fol. 46, India, 1600–1720, ink and opaque watercolor on paper; assembled in Vienna, ca. 1762, on European paper, 21 × 15½ in. (53 × 39.8 cm). Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

In comparison with compilations like *The Ladies Amusement*, presenting craftsmen with Eastern motifs in a European printed book, one might understand the Mughal miniatures of the Millionenzimmer as the Eastern equivalent of the Raphaels that Aïssé warned would be next on the chopping block. They represent the luxury version of the chinoiserie or "Mugholerie" prints that were available for a comparative pittance in shops around Europe. Period commentators on decoupage were alert to such price distinctions; again in the *Mercure*, Constantin remarks: "this fashion [for decoupage] has pushed the prices of images and prints to an extraordinary level; & as there are few merchants who sell them . . . their shops are always full."[31]

Through the choice of Mughal miniatures the Habsburgs entered a contemporary register of decoupage that mobilized careful selection of materials to turn craft into a performative act of conspicuous consumption. Not everyone could procure Mughal objects, let alone cut them up. The collected miniatures speak to Habsburg taste and acquisitiveness and to the expansive political and economic webs over which these rulers exercised control.[32] Two meticulously assembled volumes of Mughal sheets are housed in the former collection of the court's library (Fig. 6).[33] The care exerted for their safekeeping belies the fate that nearly befell them: these are the paintings spared from imperial cutting. An inscription on the verso of one album page records that they were "Received from her Majesty on the 8th of July 1762," indicating the date by which the Millionenzimmer panels were completed and allowing us to imagine the cache of Mughal sources put together for the project.[34] The unused





7 Attributed to the Habsburg imperial family, *Collage of Mughal Miniatures*, SKB 002655, India, 1600–1720, ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; assembled in Vienna, ca. 1760–62, European paper, overpaint, and glue, 36¾ × 22 in. (93.4 × 55.6 cm). Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H., digitalization by Salon Iris)

8 Attributed to the Habsburg imperial family, *Collage of Mughal Miniatures*, SKB 002655, detail showing the right lobe. Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b,H., digitalization by Salon Iris)

paintings were meticulously pasted into the volumes, grouped by style, and labeled when particular Mughal rulers were recognized. The curation of leftover miniatures, gathered though they were for cutting, illustrates a Habsburg understanding of them not as undifferentiated products of the East but as precious emblems of a parallel court culture.

The similarities between the Habsburgs' Mughal miniatures and Aïssé's Raphaels extend therefore beyond their price. Unlike chinoiserie prints, the Mughal sheets were akin to Italian paintings in that they were not designed (nor usually collected) to be subjected to scissor and knife. Doing so required a dexterous practitioner who could both maneuver around visual elements and imagine recombining components of already completed compositions into newly unified wholes. Mughal miniatures posed a particularly demanding test in that they present hermetic visual systems—often symmetrical, surface-oriented, and filled to edges that interrupt only partially represented figures. Accommodating such materials to decoupage was made even more difficult by the Millionenzimmer's rocaille panels, a mismatch to the emphatically rectilinear Mughal sheets. A representative panel (like that in Fig. 7, for example) is composed of at least twenty pieces of Mughal miniatures, coordinated to make coherent scenes and to visually resolve into a unified composition at the distance of only a few paces.

Yet step closer, look longer, and small fissures become visible, revealing various degrees of imperial intervention. For instance, a notable seam offsets the panel's right lobe, and becomes a point at which the viewer can inspect the strategies deployed to integrate component parts (Fig. 8). The men to the left of the seam, who were stacked up the picture plane of the

original miniature and truncated by its edge, were extended into the new expanse through overpainting, some now lost. The topmost figure's robe becomes a visual bridge to the adjacent women of a harem scene in the panel's lobe. Even the harem, which might appear to have come from a single miniature, is a composite. The seated male figure and his fan-wielding attendant served as an initial unit around which to arrange the grouping; he extends a flower bud to a woman pasted down to receive the offering.

Kneeling musicians were decoupaged below, the long neck of a sitar easing the transition between the different scenes and ornamental patterns that intersect at the lobe's edge. Visual equilibrium was clearly a concern: another woman was appended to balance the lobe's right side and offset the dense group of figures at this juncture. She coquettishly looks away, suggesting the fictive scene would continue if only we could expand its frame. To unite these disparate figural groupings, pieces of carefully painted paper were added to act as physical and visual sutures. Within this lobe, the carpet's floral motif was extended up into the space between the figures (and is now visible because of discoloration); curtains were extended from the adjacent scene; and a brick-and-mortar wall was painted on a scrap of paper and added to serve as an architectural extension. Across that white brick wall, the golden railing of the adjacent Mughal scene was lengthened to coordinate the two structures.

Such moments of inevitable interruption prompt the viewer to think about the process of constructing these decoupages—to dwell on the sheer incongruity between source material and finished product, and to ponder the skill of the makers who achieved these effects. Uneven aging of paints and papers has rendered the European interventions more apparent, but joins and fissures were always discernible, particularly at instances of spatial transition between vignettes. For reasons of scale and perspective, the most simply constructed panels—those featuring large, cutout figures pasted into plain, mostly painted scenery—are installed in the room's upper register. In turn, the panels filled with the most complex reconfigurations of Mughal compositions are available for scrutiny at or below eye level.

The obvious *madeness* of these decoupages and the visual acuity they evidence push the rhetoric of this room out of a purely representational register. Viewers are prompted to consider the wonders of court life in India, but equally the courtly acts of making in Vienna that offered such visions of the East. Like the portrait roundels of the adjacent Porzellanzimmer, the visual features of the Millionenzimmer panels themselves call for the reimagination of their genesis. But what did an aesthetic of finely wrought decoupage communicate to the viewers of these creations? The stakes of making for elite practitioners were high: well-crafted objects could serve as proof of the aesthetic perfection of their makers. That said, treatises on decoupage are thin and primarily of a technical rather than analytic nature, yielding only a passing sense of what constituted aesthetic perfection. This was not the case, however, where matters of drawing and copying were concerned, as both practices generated debate among amateurs and the upper echelons of academic artistic culture. To understand the ideologies at work in the fabrication of these rooms, then, it is through the trapdoor we must go to look at the practices and concerns that undergirded the selection of printed sources and modes of drawing in the adjacent Porzellanzimmer.

"THE MANNER OF DRAWING AT THE WINDOW"

Art making was considered an important part of elite and imperial formation in the eighteenth century because it was thought to cultivate judgment and taste.[35] Some imperial artists took to amateur craft with particular enthusiasm, but these activities were hardly matters of pure leisure.[36] Nearly every movement of the imperial body was symbolically freighted, tasked with either expressing or refining the line's social and physical perfection. The self-cultivation

of the imperial subject and its legacy carried particular gravity in Maria Theresa's court, given her controversial assumption of the throne—an aberrant female ruler in the Habsburg line.[37] The rhetoric of her rule consequently centered on her role as mother and the accomplishments and perfectibility of her progeny, who would assume titles and positions around Europe.[38] Making art played a role, and Maria Theresa insisted her children be formally educated in a variety of crafts.[39]

Copying after well-designed models was a critical component of such training and by the 1760s was the subject of a robust discourse. Yet there were many ways to copy a printed source, and each required a different kind of engagement. The chinoiserie sheets of the Porzellanzimmer resulted from multistep processes of translation—from print to drawing to washy painting—which, though not discussed in existing scholarly literature, are critical for assessing both the imperial aims of producing art and the relation of these sheets to the Millionenzimmer's collages.[40] Whereas collages resulted from a (productive) destruction of source materials, in the Porzellanzimmer the Habsburgs engaged in a project of reproduction. Making a blue-and-white scene of Chinese courtiers lounging in a lush garden (Fig. 9), for instance, required that two sheets be placed on the drawing table. The sheet eventually framed on Schönbrunn's walls was first cut to the dimensions of its source: *Le jardin chinois*, a print based on a design by Boucher (Fig. 10). In turn, the printed composition was carefully copied, every motif transferred to the prepared, white paper using graphite and blue gouache, two materials that necessitated employing entirely different graphic languages.

The Boucher print copied at Schönbrunn formed part of a series, the *Livre de chinois*, one of many gathered at the palace to provide models for the imperial artists. The frontispiece of another, the *Suitte de Figures Chinoises*, served as the model for the design that commemorates their authorship (Figs. 3, 4). While the figures of Boucher's composition were exactingly reproduced, the text noting that the series was based on works in the *cabinet* of Blondel d'Azincourt was traded for an inscription attributing the Porzellanzimmer sheets to members of the court, thus producing a type of frontispiece for the room itself. The shifting inscriptions evince a mimetic relay of forms across media that culminated at Schönbrunn. Painted and drawn models by Boucher and Pillement, which lined the walls and were stacked in the drawers of French and British collectors, were rendered as etched and engraved prints only to be transformed in Vienna back into quite painterly drawings—or quite linear paintings—to adorn the walls of yet another palatial *cabinet* on the other side of Europe.[41]

Each step of this intercontinental transmission required that the artists internalize a model composition in order to produce it in a different medium. Reproducing the designs did not necessarily, however, demand the intensity of engagement with source compositions evidenced at Schönbrunn. Because the imperial makers most often copied their printed models to exact scale, they could have opted for transfer processes—such as pricking and pouncing or incising—to quickly reproduce the compositions; or they could have used a more indirect method, like squaring, that systematized the process by segmenting compositions into digestible units. The absence of any physical evidence on the Porzellanzimmer sheets or on the surviving prints from which they were copied indicates that the imperial artists denied themselves such aids.[42] They also eschewed the use of a newer type of engraving, produced specifically for amateurs, that mimicked the effect of chalk on paper, such that no graphic modulation was required to make a faithful copy.[43] Instead, the Habsburgs opted for more complex procedures that pushed them to redraw the designs and more closely study both individual forms and the broader compositional logic of the prints from which they worked.[44]

The quality of underdrawn graphite lines betrays the use of a less common transfer method. Long outlines and contours, normally defined by smooth, continuous strokes, are

9 Franz Joseph, Maria Christine, Albert of Sachsen-Teschen, and Isabella of Parma, after François Boucher, *The Chinese Garden*, 1763–65, graphite and blue gouache on paper, 16¼ × 21½ in. (41.2 × 54.6 cm). Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna, MD 056925/000 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H., with permission of the Bundesmobilienverwaltung)

10 Jacques Gabriel Huquier, after François Boucher, *Le Jardin Chinois*, after 1743, etching and engraving, 16½ × 19¼ in. (41.8 × 49 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953, 53.600.1008 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

instead tenuous and often discontinuous. These are telltale signs of a (sometimes shaky) tracing hand, one that picked up its graphite and placed it back down on slightly different points along the lines it copied. Tracing paper became more widely available in this period, but its use would still have entailed transferring a traced motif to the final sheet, which would have both left material evidence and introduced an intermediary step in which inconsistencies of line could be smoothed and corrected.[45]

The imperial makers instead almost surely followed a "manner of drawing at the window [*Maniere de dessiner à la vitre*]," as described in the 1755 drawing manual of Charles-Antoine Jombert.[46] They would have begun by setting a blank sheet atop the source print and clipping the two together.[47] The double sheet could then be placed either directly against a brightly lit window or on a pane of glass illuminated from behind by a candle. Transmitted light allowed dark printed lines to become visible through even the thick Dutch paper on which the Habsburgs worked. Balancing two attached sheets against glass, either at a window or atop an elevated pane, is unwieldy, however, necessitating adjustments of the hand and page to account for sometimes scant visibility and the awkward angles of working; that physical arrangement amplified the linear irregularities, inherent to tracing, that one finds on the Schönbrunn sheets.

11 Franz Joseph, Maria Christine, Albert of Sachsen-Teschen, and Isabella of Parma, after François Boucher, *The Chinese Garden*, detail showing a group of female figures. Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

In copying Boucher's *Le jardin chinois* (Figs. 9, 10), nearly all the figures and forms were fixed by tracing their outlines. These primary compositional elements served as orienting guides between which subsidiary details of costume and setting were copied with a more tentative touch. Such a procedure, which focused on outline, was prescribed in amateur drawing manuals.[48] Only in areas of repetitive landscape elements—in the foreground and deep recesses—did the artist diverge significantly from the model, quickly sketching small shapes to indicate patterns of foliage and shrubbery.

Before the blue gouache was applied, the full-scale drawing was compared with its printed source and corrections were made. In this garden scene, for instance, the edge of the box-wielding attendant's face was redrawn, redirecting a slightly rounded line that would have altered the angle at which she tilts her head and the slender refinement of her features (Fig. 11). The errant graphite line to the left of the blue-gouache edge that now defines the figure's face acts as a critical index of the process by which the imperial artists learned to copy after Boucher and Pillement. That this slight shift of jawline was considered an error grievous enough to warrant a correction—one of many on the sheets—demonstrates the precision that the imperial family deemed necessary. It offers itself as a symbol of a process of self-discipline inherent to good copying, which pushed the artist's eye and hand to become more synchronous with the pictorial logic of the chinoiserie models. Indeed, it would be hard to overstate the fidelity of the vast majority of these copies to even the smallest details of their printed sources.

In the case of *Le jardin chinois*, internalizing the print's aesthetic system to this extent proved useful, as the overall dimensions needed to be slightly increased. So as to enable a symmetrical overall arrangement in the Porzellanzimmer, a strip was added to the sheet's left side after Boucher's composition had been carefully copied. The copy's dark-blue border was extended and its previous left edge camouflaged. Having come to understand the visual aesthetic of the original composition, the imperial artist (whether Albert, Franz Joseph, Maria Christine, or Isabella of Parma) was then able to perform it in enlarging the scene by both completing some of Boucher's truncated forms and inventing supplementary motifs.

In few but notable instances, a desired model was considered entirely too small for the room's walls. This was the case for the only signed sheet ("P.A.fec."), which Prince Albert

12 Albert of Sachsen-Teschen, after François Boucher, *Chinese Botanist*, ca. 1763, graphite, ink, and gouache on paper, 15½ × 12¾ in. (39.5 × 32.5 cm). Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna, MD 056904/000 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H., with permission of the Bundesmobilienverwaltung)

13 François Boucher, *Botaniste Chinois*, 1738–45, etching, 8 × 5¼ in. (20.5×13.4 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953, 53.600.1018(4) (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

of Sachsen-Teschen made by increasing the scale of Boucher's *Chinese Botanist* by roughly 50 percent, while remaining entirely faithful to the logic of reproductive tracing (Figs. 12, 13). He most likely accomplished his task with the aid of a pantograph, a recently invented device used by amateurs and professional artists alike;[49] it mobilized a pencil on a mechanical arm to follow the movement of the draftsman's tracing hand, thereby reproducing the model at a larger scale while preserving its proportions. Like working with the transmitted light of a candle or window, the process left slight fissures marking the points where Albert lifted his stylus while tracing. Yet unlike the manner of drawing at the window, the pantograph appears to have left fainter graphite lines, such that Albert strengthened them with ink, applied with brush.[50] Slight divergences from the printed model make clear that he then filled in details freehand and finally abandoned the print entirely to render the setting around the figure. These subsidiary areas offered Albert, an avid draftsman and connoisseur, an opportunity to exercise his hand with a certain élan. His line betrays a confidence that was, in fact, a prerequisite for using this particular printed source; for, though the etching is compositionally uncomplicated, it is also sketchy and incomplete. Albert needed to clarify details—the design on the botanist's robes, the plant in the background—that Boucher had left either indeterminate or unfinished.

Once these graphite and ink copies were complete, the Habsburg artists traced over the main lines with thick gouache and used varying viscosities (*en camaïeux*) to reproduce the tonal effects of cross-hatching found in the models. This final step was sometimes guided by the originals, kept on hand for this purpose, as stains on surviving source prints make clear.[51] Such cultivated artistic confidence allowed imperial artists to, at times, abandon graphite underdrawing and proceed directly with dark gouache outlines—and even, in rare cases, to conceive of single-figured compositions independent of models altogether, perhaps with the help of a tutor or even Pillement himself.[52]

The Porzellanzimmer sheets are undeniably accomplished productions, made by imperial family members who had, by this point, spent years training to draw and paint. These arts were part of the official education of Maria Theresa's children, and teachers were employed to give them lessons that were but the beginnings of their enduring fascination with the graphic arts.[53] Maria Christine, around age twenty when the project began, was the youngest member of the group, but already an avid practitioner. The quantity and quality of the work she produced and the many official court portraits that capture her in the act of creation, chalk or brush in hand, attest to her particular proclivity.[54] In 1776 she became a member of Rome's prestigious Academy of Saint Luke, a recognition of her aptitude as a draftsman and connoisseur;[55] these talents were deepened by her marriage to Albert of Sachsen-Teschen—a collaborator in the Porzellanzimmer—and by their travels and posts across Europe, during which they amassed the collection that forms the core of Vienna's renowned Albertina.[56]

The adornment of the rooms at Schönbrunn fell in the middle of the lifelong artistic journeys of these imperial makers. Their engagement with the arts placed them in dialogue with all sectors of an artistic public, from childhood educators to artistic academicians, elite artists, other amateur makers, and aesthetic theoreticians. As the most private room in the apartment complex at Schönbrunn, the Porzellanzimmer spatially literalizes a process of drawing inward, an internalization of European aesthetic norms, a self-formation or *Bildung*, through the act of making pictures. The room stands as a monument crafted by imperial makers but acts as a testament to its *own* making of those same imperial subjects. To fully understand it as such we must move from the fine-grained matters of material and facture to which we have attended thus far and turn to the larger ideological frameworks that drove such operations.

"IT WILL TEACH ONE TO THINK AND TO DESIGN WITH CONFIDENCE"

If decoupage might conjure visions of leisure-time amusement and fanciful consumption, drawing and painting are more obviously serious components of self-formation. Eighteenth-century theorists in fields ranging from craft to aesthetics to physiognomics embraced the long-standing notion that drawing taught good design and thereby rational perception and thought. It was for this reason that, from the sixteenth century on, drawing and painting were routinely included among the liberal arts and were deemed suitable for a prince or courtier.[57] The ideologies that undergirded drawing by the eighteenth century—and out of which the project of copying in the Porzellanzimmer emerged—reveal the stakes of artistic practice at Schönbrunn. Within a cultural ambit that tied drawing to aesthetic development, social benefit, and cultural perfection, one must take the Porzellanzimmer sheets as prompts to ask more pointed questions than might otherwise be posed about amateur craft. Doing so also offers a window, I suggest, onto the aesthetic concerns at play in the decoupage techniques used to create the Millionenzimmer's panels.

Beginning in the Renaissance, renewed interest in the classical world fueled investment in the notion that the visual arts afforded practitioners a sense of good design befitting royalty. A courtier in Baldassare Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* (1528) exclaims, for example, "I recall having read that in the ancient world, and in Greece especially, children of gentle birth were required to learn painting at school, as a worthy and necessary accomplishment, and it was ranked among the foremost of the liberal arts."[58] Castiglione classed painting so favorably for its link to drawing and, in turn, to the vaunted notion of *disegno* (design).[59] Learning to draw cultivated a courtier's reason and self-control, protecting him from the passions fueled by an untrained eye.[60]

Castiglione's model of the artistically trained courtier circulated well into the eighteenth century.[61] By that point, his text was increasingly read in relation to an emergent philosophical conception of aesthetic disinterestedness. Foreshadowing Immanuel Kant's seminal theorization in the 1790 *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, midcentury writers such as Johann Joachim Winckelmann and Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, explored the relation between the individual, ethics, and aesthetics. In their treatises, the production of art and the cultivation of aesthetic judgment, or "taste," were tied to a principal concern with self-discipline.

For Winckelmann, drawing—and specifically, copying—played a critical role. In his 1756 *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst*, he frames judgment as "Good taste, which now spreads more and more throughout the world, [and] began to form itself under the Greek sky."[62] Good taste had both personal and social benefits that became outwardly expressed in the bodies of a given culture. He notes that "Aristotle reports, the Greeks taught their children in drawing, above all because they believed that this made them more adept at observing and judging the beauty of bodies."[63] By extension, the aesthetic judgment that drawing imparted was apparently of no small consequence. Through careful observation, one could find the most objectively perfect partner with whom to have children;[64] scrupulous choice resulted in more physically refined progeny than those produced through a union of happenstance or, worse yet, one driven by base instinct.[65] Over generations, more beautiful bodies could be chosen and, in turn, produced. The result would be an entire culture, like the Greeks of Winckelmann's imagination, with perfected physical appearance.[66]

Such reasoning went hand in hand with the rise of physiognomics and its claims to assessing the bodily results of an evolution of aesthetic judgment.[67] According to this pseudoscience, one could gauge a person's rationality because internal characteristics gradually came to be expressed externally.[68] An illustration designed by Christian von Mechel visualizes such theories, notably, that of the physiognomist Johann Kaspar Lavater, in offering a twenty-four-piece grid: "The Progressive Succession of Profiles from [the head of] the Frog to Apollo" (Fig. 14).[69] Von Mechel, who was active at Maria Theresa's court at various points and who helped organize the first public art collection in Vienna, shows Apollo as the endpoint of this protoevolutionary scale.[70] The apogee is not, however, a representation of the mythological Apollo, the penultimate figure seen pictured with a laurel wreath—classical symbol of accomplishment in the arts. Rather, it is the head of the Apollo Belvedere, which Winckelmann championed as the most beautiful work of antiquity, the figure of man as perfected *through* art.[71] The body and the work of art emerge in recursive relation. Through the practice and perfection of arts, the internal aesthetic sensibilities they fostered were expressed by the bodies of a civilization, and in their subsequent representation they could be further refined. This was the key to the progress of culture: in cultivating an aesthetic sensibility, a sense of good design, humans distinguished themselves from the frogs and cultures distinguished themselves from one another.

14 Christian von Mechel, *Stufenfolge von dem Frosche bis zum Apollo—Profile*, 1797, etching and aquatint with watercolor, printed on two sheets, each 14½ × 9 in. (36.6 × 22.5 cm). Wellcome Library, London, 47555i, 47556i (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the Wellcome Collection)

Shaftesbury was yet more emphatic about the relation between the perfection of individuals through aesthetic judgment and the refinement of societal structures. "The Accomplishment of Breeding is, To learn whatever is *decent* in Company, or *beautiful* in Arts," he writes in the 1711 *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*. But the reader

is warned that this requires an ascetic abnegation of desire so that rules of a higher cognitive order might be followed:

> Effeminacy pleases me. The Indian figures, the Japan work, the enamel strikes my eye. The luscious colors, and glossy paint, gain upon my fancy. . . . But what ensues?—Do I not for ever forget my good relish? How is it possible I should thus come to taste the beauties of an Italian master, or of a hand happily formed on nature and the ancients? . . . The art itself is severe, the rules rigid.[72]

To benefit from the aesthetic perfection of the Greeks and their Italian Renaissance heirs, impulses first had to be curbed.

The stakes of following rules and of forgoing the whims of fancy are enormous in Shaftesbury's estimation. This warning about Eastern marvels and their dangerous pleasures is immediately followed by a discussion of degraded aesthetics as a predictor of the Roman Empire's demise:

> I mean *the luxury* of the *Roman* court, and the change of *taste*. . . . This excellent, learned and polite critic [Pliny] represents to us the *false taste* springing from the court itself, and from that opulence, splendor, and affectation. . . . Thus in statuary and architecture then in vogue nothing could be admired beside what was costly in the mere matter or substance of the work. It was in favor of these court-beauties and gaudy appearances, that all good *drawing*, just *design*, and *truth of work* began to be despised.[73]

The wrong kind of drawing, the reader learns, can topple an empire. And when it does, demise comes not from a coup d'état but, rather, from a slow degradation of aesthetic and therefore moral sensibilities that begins at the court and corrupts the body politic.

Eighteenth-century thinking saw a great potential in the arts, but, in that, placed an equally great burden on its practitioners. The consequences of choice—what to draw and copy—manifested in the body, both corporeal and corporate.[74] Winckelmann, for his part, was clear on the superlative sources and the effects of their deployment: "I believe that the imitation of their [Greek] art can teach us more quickly to become knowledgeable [than drawing simply after nature] . . . it will teach one to think and to draw/design [*entwerfen*] with confidence, since he will behold the highest limits of the human and, at the same time, the godly."[75]

Such theories held sway in Habsburg Vienna. Maria Theresa evinced her own belief in the societal benefit of drawing from well-formed models when she decreed that collections in the city be made accessible to artists and that they be arranged to facilitate copying.[76] Indeed, in the 1760s she founded an academy for drawing and engraving in Vienna and sent artists across Europe to gain skills in good design.[77] But what of the copying that took place at the same time, and quite literally closer to home? The Porzellanzimmer sheets fit into this cultural milieu where drawing and copying were essential to the public good. Yet if the source one chose to draw after was understood to push a practitioner toward either the godly or the abject, what did it mean to copy Chinese art? Was porcelain not precisely the kind of glimmering fancy against which Shaftesbury warned?

Of course, the imperial draftsmen at Schönbrunn were critically *not* copying Chinese art but, rather, chinoiserie prints with "Chinese" motifs that had already passed through European aesthetic filters. These were, moreover, designs by two of the most prominent artists within Europe's academic and court circles. In 1765, Boucher, a member of the French academy (Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture) since 1734, was appointed its director and declared *peintre du roi* (Painter to the King).[78] The printed sources for the Porzellanzimmer rehearsed their designers' accomplishments. Prince Albert's *Chinese Botanist* (Fig. 12), for

instance, was selected from a series titled *Recueil de diverses figures chinoises du cabinet de Fr. Boucher peintre du roy dessinées et gravées par lui-même*, a title that projects Boucher's standing in concert with the claim that the prints were entirely of the artist's own conception and fabrication.[79] Pillement's trajectory was less academic, though no less esteemed; he worked in courts across Europe, and also attained the rank of official royal painter, as frequently noted on prints reproducing his designs.[80]

Creating the blue-and-white sheets for the Porzellanzimmer thus allowed the Habsburg family members to engage with the idea of "the East" and the general craze for its products, porcelain chief among them, while simultaneously developing their artistic skills by copying after models stemming from the heights of European aesthetic practice. Contemporary commentary about porcelain illustrates just how imperative the Habsburgs' distanced engagement must have seemed. Chinese porcelain captivated the imagination of eighteenth-century Europe, which was flooded by porcelain vessels unloaded from the hulls of Dutch fleets (among others) to satisfy the fashion for increasingly lavish ceramic displays.[81] Consumers waxed poetic about porcelain's white purity and marveled at how delicate facture belied remarkable resilience. European producers raced to replicate these effects, but their wares were thick and the white slip applied to mimic the luxurious sheen of Eastern ceramics was cream-toned and prone to chipping, which revealed the porous clay it was designed to mask. Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* includes an entry on imitation porcelains (*porcelaine de Saxe*) in which the relative merits of production in Sèvres, Franckendal, England, and Holland are discussed, and ultimately pronounced inferior to those of China and Japan.[82]

Yet while porcelain's materials and engineering were coveted, its decoration was derided. The *Encyclopédie* chides,

> *Of the porcelain painters* . . . they would not be able to pass in Europe for anything but an apprentice of a few months. All the science of these Chinese painters is not founded on any principle and consists of nothing but a certain routine, aided by the flight of a somewhat narrow-minded imagination. They ignore all the beautiful rules of this art.[83]

It even more disapprovingly reports that the painters worked in teams, each artist repeatedly applying a given motif to different vessels, with disjunctive results the natural outcome.

As we have explored, however, the "rules of art" were precisely what mattered for the eighteenth-century imperial subject who took up the draftsman's tools. These rules were key to producing analytic judgment and aesthetic taste; far from flights of fancy or, worse, the "narrow-minded imagination" that Diderot discredits, the imperial maker pursued grounded reason. The decoration on Chinese porcelain was clearly not to be trusted, but the European painter or designer could be—that is, so long as the copyist took care to choose appropriate models.[84]

The luxury of engaging with and copying after Chinese designs was not simply a matter of using prints by the most accomplished European artists but also of selecting from within their oeuvres. In that sense, what the Habsburgs chose *not* to copy is as important as what they did. The Porzellanzimmer is notably free of the most whimsical chinoiserie creations—those by Pillement, for instance, that improbably propped heavy structures on flimsy stilts or captured figures precariously balancing on or hanging from ethereal rococo meanders (Fig. 15). Such designs provided fodder for more typical European "decorative" arts, ranging from commercial ceramics to amateur embroidery.[85] These prints delighted in playful spatial absurdities, amplifying the purportedly "irrational" elements of Chinese design to the point of farce.[86]

15 Jean Pillement, frontispiece of *A New Book of Chinese Ornaments Invented & Engraved by J. Pillement*, London: Robert Sayer, 1755, etching, 18 × 11⅝ in. (45.8 × 29.5 cm). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1921, 21.91.114 (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

16 Franz Joseph, Maria Christine, Albert of Sachsen-Teschen, and Isabella of Parma, after Jean Pillement, *Man with a Sickle*, 1763–65, graphite and blue gouache on paper, 18½ × 12¼ in. (47 × 31 cm). Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna, MD 056808/000 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H., with permission of the Bundesmobilienverwaltung)

Even the most whimsical compositions copied in the Porzellanzimmer carefully avoided the incongruities associated with such chinoiserie confections. In several models, for instance, Pillement set his scenes in frames of wild vegetation (Fig. 16), but within these fantastic borders, perspective carves out deep, "rational" spaces for rigorously foreshortened and judiciously described figures. In a few cases, imperial draftsmen omitted raucous frames that distracted from the well-designed figures they contained.[87] Such choices were critical if an assured distance between the imperial artist and the preposterous and improper art of the Chinese was to be maintained. Some commentators worried that overenthusiastic interest in foreign materials could contaminate the art of even Europe's greatest masters. Charles Léoffroy de Saint-Yves, one of Boucher's champions, cautioned, "Those who support [the artist] nonetheless fear the constant study of the Chinese mode . . . [will] affect the grace of his contours. They will no longer have the same charm, if he continues to design figures of this kind."[88]

Through their choice of prints to copy, imperial makers implicitly distinguished between European designs in the Chinese taste that did and did *not* recast forms within proper aesthetic systems.[89] That is, the project of copying at Schönbrunn capitalized not only on using European prints but also on the discerning choices among them that kept actual (irrational) Eastern sources at multiple removes from imperial makers, a distance underlined by the room's paradoxical status as a porcelain cabinet that lacks any trace of actual porcelain. The imperial family could profit from both the fashion for *le chinois* and the pictorial rationality of elite artists who had, in certain instances, restructured Chinese motifs according to the rules of European aesthetic science.

Approaching the East from both a refracted and a managed vantage point, the Habsburgs regarded such graphic sources as suitable to their artistic formation and to the concomitant development of their aesthetic judgment. They sensed little threat to the evolution of their taste and thus to the (re)production of their bodies; for had they, they would not have copied after such sources so prodigiously. The inscription commemorating their process of copying—"After Boucher and Pillement"—underlines a chain of aesthetic reformation and the possibility of engaging with porcelain and its foreignness while still, ultimately, copying "a Boucher" or "a Pillement," and a carefully chosen one at that. Because graphite tracing

and transfer work are left legible under light layers of gouache, the Porzellanzimmer's sheets visually reiterate that relationship—the fact of having been drawn from a source composition. These sheets, much like the Millionenzimmer collages, evidence a drawing lesson, prompting the viewer to imagine the scene of their making. The Porzellanzimmer sheets serve at once as decoration and as an index of a process of aesthetic self-formation staged as an extended encounter with a highly mediated East. As Michael Yonan has proposed, the invocation of porcelain may have metaphorically amplified such rhetoric;[90] just as lowly earth was attentively baked to aesthetic perfection, so, too, imperial judgment was shaped through the practices of the eye and hand in the crucible (or the kiln) of the Porzellanzimmer.

But the *actual* material used was perhaps an even more important factor amplifying the Porzellanzimmer's valences of cultivated aesthetic triumph. Prussian blue, the medium for the sheets' gouache, was a widely celebrated and only recently produced color.[91] Its accidental discovery, resulting from introducing iron cyanide to a decoction of red cochineal, quickly became the subject of debate in European scientific circles, and makers raced to perfect its production for wide-ranging applications. Prussian blue was almost immediately put to use by dyers, craftsmen, and artists, including Boucher. Given the overlaps of scientific and artistic academic circles, these artists (and their patrons and publics) were privy to the color's ongoing refinement and the competition around its production.[92] The first synthetically produced pigment, Prussian blue represented an achievement of Enlightenment-era science, an almost alchemical transformation of the lowly red bodies of ground insects into a blue fit for the finest fabrics and the noblest palettes. What more perfect material to put in service of a drawn line that emulated the heights of European aesthetics and enabled the maker, much like the color's production itself, to transcend base materiality for the beauty of good design?

"A BUTTERFLY SUPPORTING AN ELEPHANT, OR THINGS EQUALLY ABSURD"

In the Porzellanzimmer, the copied line served as a tool for edification and for the cultivation of good design based on models featuring Eastern motifs that had been filtered through European aesthetic frameworks. This was not the case when Mughal miniatures were used to craft the decoupages for the Millionenzimmer; there, artists took up the products of the East in their own hands. In this context, the "cut" functioned as a mechanism of self-defense, allowing the imperial family to engage with wondrous foreign products without opening themselves to the potentially deforming effects of their unregulated aesthetic systems. Unlike copying, by which the draftsman internalizes a source composition's aesthetic, cutting placed products at the mercy of their (re)makers. The subsequent reorganization of cut-up pieces reverses the flow of analytic effect; it is the maker who exercises control over bits and pieces of snipped paper illustrating figures, objects, and landscapes. Beyond mere frivolity—a contemporary rage for cutting and pasting—decoupage emerges here as a conceptually weighted practice.[93]

The short instructional guide accompanying Sayer's *The Ladies Amusement* describes the process by which the volume's printed motifs could best be used for decoupage:

> The first Intention or Subject being mere Matter of Choice, in this the Fancy alone must direct; but when once fixed upon, Care must be taken to preserve a Propriety: For instance, if the Scene [being arranged is to] be *European*, in the Body of your Design place no exotic or preposterous Object, but carefully observing to keep the small and faintest Hills, Trees, Figures, &c. at the greatest Distance, ever placing on the Bottom or Front Ground, some grand or striking Feature. Thus will a Perspective and due Keeping be infused thro' your Work without the Labour of obtaining it by Rules of Art.[94]

17 Attributed to the Habsburg imperial family, *Collage of Mughal Miniatures*, SKB 002621, India, 1600–1720, ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; assembled in Vienna, ca. 1760–62, European paper, overpaint, and glue, 18½ × 21¼ in. (46.7 × 54.2 cm). Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H., digitalization by Salon Iris)

While most of Sayer's figures are exoticizing in visual effect, the decoupager is bidden to exercise his/her European judgment in laying out the scene. He or she may not know the exact rules of building a perspectival grid, but in following the reasoned placement of figures and recognizing optical effects of "proper" perspective in the resulting field, the decoupager could approximate a sense of space conforming to European ideals.[95]

Whether guided by developed artistic intuition or consultation of Sayer's guidelines, which we know the court possessed, the Habsburgs at Schönbrunn organized the Millionenzimmer panels in ways consonant with his advice. Compositions were populated with differently scaled figures to clarify spatial transitions. For example, in the case of one panel (Fig. 17), space recedes as the eye scans up the surface. The composition's focal point is the Mughal Emperor Jahangir seated in the middle ground, which has been overpainted with a single shade of green to create turf around his attendant courtiers. A ridge was added to offset the panel's background scenes. Populating that upper register with noticeably smaller figures achieves a clear sense of recession, while the shrubs along the ridge paper over—quite literally—a distance whose expansiveness is implied rather than delineated.

The entire composite scene is anchored, in the lower-right corner, by an enormous (only partially pictured) elephant that dwarfs the figures behind. The elephant is

18 Attributed to the Habsburg imperial family, *Collage of Mughal Miniatures*, SKB 002606, India, 1600–1720, ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper; assembled in Vienna, ca. 1760–62, European paper, overpaint, and glue, 36¾ × 22 in. (93.4 × 55.6 cm). Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H., digitalization by Salon Iris)

19 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Four Mughal Elders Seated under a Tree*, ca. 1656–61, ink on paper, 7½ × 4⅞ in. (19.4 × 12.4 cm). British Museum, London, 1895,0915.1275 (artwork in the public domain; photograph © The Trustees of the British Museum)

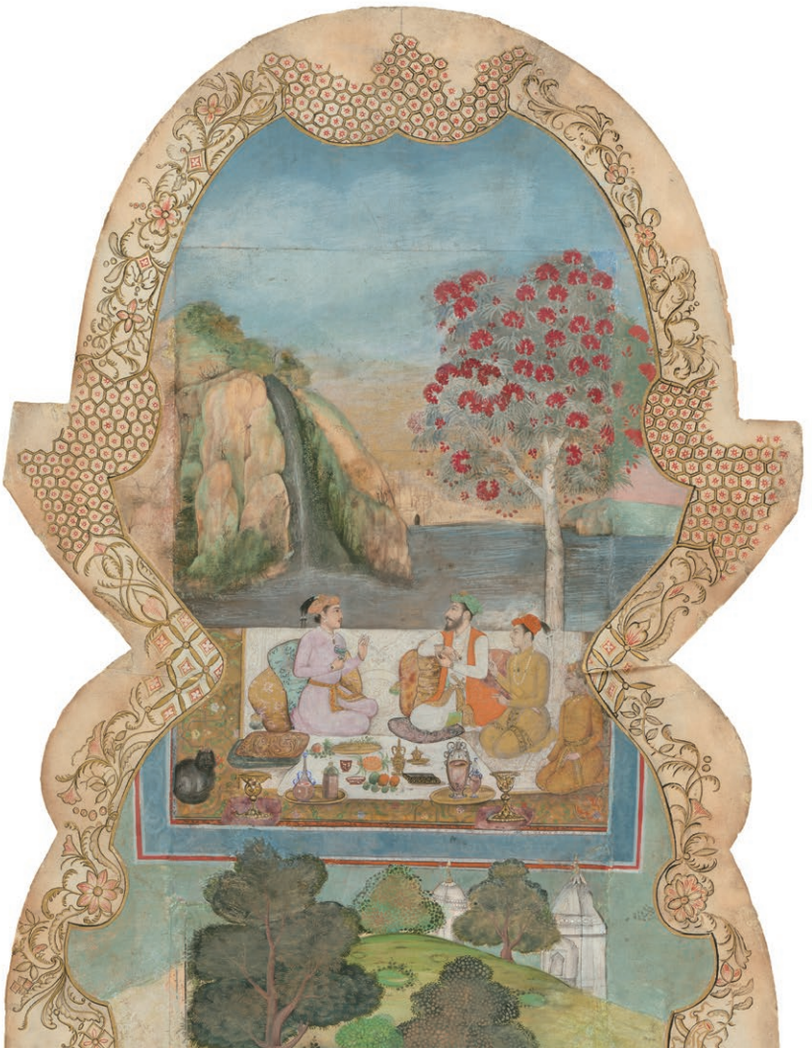
a conspicuous exotic "object," but is here deployed as precisely the "grand or striking Feature" that Sayer recommends placing on "the Bottom or Front Ground" to construct a scene conveying a European sensibility. To grasp the visual and rhetorical effect of that choice, one might consider the contrasting advice that *The Ladies Amusement* offers for scenes meant to look purposefully non-European: "With *Indian* and *Chinese* Subjects greater Liberties may be taken, because Luxuriance of Fancy recommends their Productions more than Propriety, for in them is often seen a Butterfly supporting an Elephant, or Things equally absurd."[96]

Sayer's bizarre balancing elephant is not, however, what one finds in the Millionenzimmer panels, where elephants of various sizes are used instead to clarify and underscore pivotal spatial junctures and divisions. In a vertical collage (Fig. 18), a pair saunters across the ground line of the middle distance; the head of another can be spotted between two architectural structures separating the middle distance from the top lobe; and an additional pair punctuates that final scene, a landscape receding behind them toward a high horizon line. Indeed, the elephant is so routinely used in this fashion in the Millionenzimmer as to become a trope of spatial organization. Heralded by *The Ladies Amusement* as the potential site of the most fantastically irrational, the elephant is recast in the collaged scenes at Schönbrunn as a rationalizing arbiter of perspectival effects.[97]

Reconfiguring the spatial effects of Mughal miniatures for this panel, and many others, required more than the snip of the scissors, the slice of the knife, and the measured disposition of resultant pieces. In the vignette of seated wise men in the left foreground, green paint—now conspicuous because of its discoloration—was used to "erase" part of the original Mughal design. Examining the decoupage alone does not reveal the motivation behind overpainting. In this case, however, we can be certain of what the Habsburgs felt it necessary to efface; for when this miniature arrived in Europe, none other than Rembrandt drew a pen-and-ink copy (leading some art historians to infer he was the miniature's original owner) (Fig. 19).[98] The middle of Rembrandt's copy shows a large tree, which the Habsburg decoupagers covered over with paint.

Rembrandt's copy incidentally also offers insight into something of the ways European audiences saw and thought about Mughal design. Rembrandt pulled the Mughal imagery into a European pictorial register by adding cast shadows and lowering the horizon line to, perhaps instinctively, tip the rug and the seated figures on it away from the picture plane and into a deeper perspectival space.[99] The Habsburgs could not so simply spatially recast and optically reform the figures; they were cutting and decoupaging pieces within the climbing spaces of their panels and could only reorient the miniatures themselves to approximate perspectival effects. In that task, the tree Rembrandt copied posed a problem, as it divided the scene in two and was awkwardly truncated by the top edge of the Mughal sheet. Rather than completing the form of the tree with paint in the larger pictorial field into which they inserted the miniature—a tactic deployed in other cases—the Habsburgs painted over it, allowing the viewer's eye to climb up the panel and into the scene. Techniques of cutting and reconfiguring were not the only methods used to ease recessions from foreground to middle distance.

The Millionenzimmer's scenes demonstrate their makers' use of an associative logic of recession, but so, too, their thinking about the geometric mechanisms of perspective, as exemplified by one particular vertical collage (Fig. 7). Architectural features subdivide the panel's composition producing three horizontal registers that function as foreground, middle ground, and background. Within each of those spaces, the landscape elements, figures, and ornamental details were arranged to effect orthogonal-like perspective lines. The purposefulness of these arrangements is clearest in the upper register, where a group of picnicking courtiers has



20 Attributed to the Habsburg imperial family, *Collage of Mughal Miniatures*, SKB 002655, detail of Fig. 7 showing the upper lobe. Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna (artwork in the public domain; photograph © Schloß Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges.m.b.H., digitalization by Salon Iris)

been placed at a distance from the rolling hills and trees that define the threshold of the middle register (Fig. 20). Two small golden vessels sit at the front edge of the elaborate rug; now-discolored paint around their bases reveals that they were cut from a different scene and deliberately added at these points. Within the expansive collage, such incidental details might seem of little consequence, but they apparently warranted specific attention. The Habsburg artists had to contend with the rug, which, despite aggressive trimming, acts as a surface-oriented plane. Atop it the courtiers, a pillow, and a cat appear in a V-shaped formation. By placing the small golden vessels at the front of the scene, the collagers extended otherwise imperceptible lines latent in the spread of picnic goods to parallel that existing formation, thereby fashioning two sets of rough orthogonals. These pseudoperspectival lines are not mathematically constructed but nevertheless function to lead the eye into the vignette, through the void between the two main figures, and into the deep landscape against which these noblemen have been pasted.

The panel's other registers were designed and executed using a similar strategy. In the lowest lobe, phalanxes of courtiers have been placed next to the emperor and his courtesan (Fig. 7). These men, fanning out to either side, visually reinforce the suggestion of orthogonals generated by the group of kneeling female attendants (and the preexisting spatial arrangement) taken directly from a Mughal miniature. Above, in the middle register, another group of courtiers meets a seated ruler, all poised above a wrestling match. That encounter could have read as a frieze, figures just arriving from a horizontal march to enter the palace. But the Habsburg makers cleverly assembled a strong orthogonal line by collaging together disparate figures—a seated group and two independently added standing characters—into

the panel's left lobe. This arrangement allowed the slight overlaps of the figures at center to read as recession and thus carved a setting for the rest of the vignettes. It is easy to overlook the subtlety of such reconfigurations and to pronounce these panels fantastical productions, deriving their aesthetic primarily from colorful, detailed Mughal sources. But this more careful inspection of facture opens up a space in which to evaluate the types of judgments that so effectively reformed these compositions: decisions about how to cut and combine that forced the miniatures into European frames, both literal and conceptual.

The cut as gesture of European rationality and discipline vis-à-vis the East had important analogues in other imperial craft practices, most notably, in ivory carving. There, the cut similarly functioned to impose order and reason on imported commodities from the East. A perfectly symmetrical, smoothed, and gleaming-white object could be cut with geometric precision from dull tusks of ivory that made their way to Europe from both Africa and Asia. Ivory's sheer price made vessels produced from the material incredibly attractive to elite collectors, but the nobility also procured lathes to engage in ivory turning themselves.[100] By the mid-eighteenth century, in fact, a developed discourse parsed the perfect geometry that ivory carving demanded as the type of reasoned analytic that was proper to the nobility. In considering rational judgment and mathematical knowledge as prerequisites, the craft reified its elite status while promising to yet further refine such skills, strengthened through its instruction.

21 Andreas Geyer, from Johann Martin Teuber, *Vollständiger Unterricht*, Regensburg, 1740, pl. 1, etching and engraving, image, 7¾ × 6¼ in. (19.9 × 15.7 cm). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC, David K. E. Bruce Fund (artwork in the public domain; photograph provided by the National Gallery of Art Library)

The command required by this art form was deemed nothing short of godly, and the gods themselves were imagined as ur-craftsmen of ivory.[101] Johann Martin Teuber's 1740 treatise *Vollständiger Unterricht von der gemeinen und höhern Dreh-Kunst* extends high praise for the practice in odes and engraved insets illustrating the remarkable variety and complexity of forms that could be achieved with the material (Fig. 21). In an opening panegyric, Teuber writes:

> The art of turning is a work that only befits the gods. As princes, Electors and Kings saw this, they were attracted to it with the greatest desire. Yes, noblemen who rule the world with renown, turn. . . . The art of turning offers you the most reasoned movement, and so restores your body.[102]

It is indeed difficult to imagine the geometric acuity and control of spatial relations needed to craft the vessels and objects, with their punctuated and interlocking forms, shown in Teuber's treatise. But Teuber presses the benefit beyond the intellectual, noting the bodily effects of aesthetic practice; the soundness of judgment instructed and reinforced through the proper movements of the lathe, much as through those of the pen in drawing, had a corporeal impact on the maker, pushing his or her body to a state of God-given perfection.

The rationalizing use of the cut, however, is not all that links ivory turning to the production of the Millionenzimmer collages, but also the fact that the cut was deployed at a moment of geographic encounter between maker and material. Ivory was a foreign product, as Teuber forcefully underscores: "One turns here not from Gold, the wood remains tucked away / Only pearl and ivory / and what Japan hands us . . . who would then deny / that this art of turning is the most beautiful in the World."[103] Teuber frames ivory carving as an exchange across cultures, in which the East supplies an unrefined commercial good that could be shaped into visually resplendent forms and surfaces by the diligent motions of Europe's aristocracy. That the armillary sphere, potent symbol of worldwide navigation and imperial dominion, is featured among the pieces portrayed at the outset of the *Vollständiger Unterricht* thus comes as no surprise; it stands for the measured attention with which Europe could chart, explore, and economically exploit the world—and as a set of

complicated interlocking forms it is testament to the refinement and geometric beauty that Europeans sought to create from an undisciplined, base material shipped from afar.

Though he was describing ivory carving, the analogous operation of the decoupager's cut was not far from Teuber's mind, and he drew a connection between the two crafts in his publication. His treatise even includes an appendix on "lacquer art," another term for decoupage. Directly following a long list of elite clientele he tutored in turning, Teuber provides an instructional guide for making and varnishing decoupages.[104] Teuber's text has received little scholarly attention, but it is nevertheless odd that the connected nature of the arts he brings together, their conceptual common ground of cutting and recalibrating liberated forms, has never been discussed. The cut is a subtractive process. A flick of the wrist, a spin of the wheel, and the monstrous can be rationalized. Forms are excised from source material; in subsequently recombining them, the maker imposes a reasoned sense of good design in order to fashion something aesthetically transformed. Teuber's treatise was rereleased in Vienna in 1756, and a copy of the 1740 edition was in the Habsburg court library, such that his association of ivory and paper was physically available, if not also conceptually dwelt upon, when the project of decorating the Millionenzimmer began.[105]

The results of knowledgeable cutting were put on display in that most public room of Schönbrunn's residential wing. There, the visitor in fact finds entire walls covered with foreign products that have been disciplined by European makers. The room's decorative woodwork reinforces the collaged panels' implicit message that the European cut had the ability to rationalize the Mughal miniatures, for they are set in gleaming marquetry crafted from rosewood, a precious material shipped to Europe from Central America and carefully cut, assembled, and polished to create complex, interlocking forms (Fig. 1).[106] Mughal miniature and exotic hardwood alike have been domesticated, in all valences of that term: subjugated to European aesthetic systems through the wielding of scissor, knife, and saw, they were rendered suitable for installation within the imperial domestic sphere.[107]

For the European artist to wield such power, he or she had to first develop an internal sense of judgment so that proper choice could be exercised. In Habsburg Vienna, that process links the cut back to the drawn, copied line. That is, excavating the technologies and ideologies of making that produced the decorations of the Millionenzimmer and the Porzellanzimmer reveals their conceptual interdependence. Drawing after aesthetically perfected sources to make the Porzellanzimmer's sheets enabled a rational self-formation and self-aestheticization of the imperial subject. Through the small, secret door and into the Millionenzimmer, the inward gaze turns outward. There, the court embraced materials that required artistic recalibration. The aesthetic regimentation to which imperial makers submitted themselves, from childhood drawing lessons to the large-scale decoration of the Porzellanzimmer, gave them means to properly impose their will on Mughal miniatures while exercising artistic choice and accustoming something monstrous and excessive to the habits and habitat of *man*, that ultimate Enlightenment cipher for "European." At Schönbrunn, the cut tamed, it disciplined, it brought the products of the East under the control of "true" civilization.

PAST THE SURFACE

Eighteenth-century decorative arts might be seen to stage an encounter with the East as nothing more than "surface contact," as Stacey Sloboda has eloquently called it.[108] The period's material culture, whether of the middle-class home or the elite residence, facilitated acquaintance with far-off lands while simultaneously deflecting true comprehension, refusing to fulfill genuine desire for knowledge or understanding. In exploring rooms at Saltram House (Plymouth) papered with odds and ends of Chinese export wallpaper, Sloboda describes an

incoherent effect: "The anti-illusionistic strategy of hanging the wallpaper in fragmented and repetitive sequence negates the coherence of a unified scene. . . . As such, instead of presenting a pictorial illusion of Chinese culture, it offers a fragmented material trace of an ambivalent cross-cultural encounter."[109]

We might understand the engagements with the East at Schönbrunn as similarly evidencing a simultaneous attraction to and reticence about the products of China and India. In Vienna, however, imperial makers did not augment the irrational pictorial effects inherent to the process of uniting an assortment of Eastern objects for display. Quite the contrary. As I have argued, the ungrounded and the incoherent were to be kept at arm's length for a society increasingly concerned with the effects of aesthetic experience. The surface was understood to be not quite so innocently superficial, and the papers applied to it needed to be approached with caution. Even mere surfaces—or, perhaps, *precisely* surfaces—could shape the taste and, in turn, the bodies of makers and viewers.

22 Mughal or Deccani artist, album page with a European engraving of scenes from the Sermon of Matthew, from Bartolomeo Ricci, *Vita D. N. Iesu Christi*, ca. 1686–1740, European engraving, ink, opaque watercolor, and gold on paper, approx. 12¼ × 7½ in. (31 × 19 cm). Schloss Schönbrunn, Vienna (artwork in the public domain; photograph by the author)

Yet the simplicity with which craft manuals and treatises on aesthetics frame either copying after perfectly formed (European) pictorial sources or disciplining deficient (Eastern) products flattens more complicated relations of makers to materials. The objects with which craftsmen engaged were, in reality, less easily distinguishable as faultless or flawed, domestic or foreign. To whatever degree imperialist discourse attempted to maintain a division of self and other, the Habsburg artists worked with concrete evidence of their imbrication. Just beyond the surface of the sheets at Schönbrunn, strict distinctions of European rhetoric break down.

During the restoration of the Millionenzimmer (1980–92), conservators painstakingly disassembled the decoupaged panels, removing the Mughal fragments and painted joins to prevent further deterioration. In the process, they discovered on the miniatures' versos Gujarati, Dutch, and French inscriptions, tracing their transit from East to West.[110] But they also uncovered evidence of more circuitous histories of transmission. Various fragments and sheets had been inserted behind the collages to bolster vulnerable or extensively worked sections. Among these was an entire, unaltered Mughal album page, never before published (Fig. 22). On this page, an artist on the Indian subcontinent had fashioned a banded frame to embrace a European print. The numeral "49" at lower left and the capital letters throughout the composition indicate the page arrived in the region as part of a Catholic devotional text, Bartolomeo Ricci's 1607 *Vita D. N. Iesu Christi*.[111] The engraving, printed in Rome, likely made its way east with Jesuit missionaries, only to be cut from the book, trimmed of its page, and pasted into a Mughal album.

The album page testifies not only to the eagerness with which the Mughal Empire and its artists acquired European prints but also the interest they took in their pictorial forms and graphic systems. Mughal artists steadily appropriated iconography, perspectival formulas, and aspects of line and form from European sources.[112] Indeed, during the restoration several European prints were found with Mughal miniatures painted directly onto their versos; after spending long days in Mughal workshops, such prints were repurposed as mere material surfaces.[113] Stated differently, the miniatures with which the Habsburgs worked bore clear evidence of their entwinement with Europe. The Eastern paintings that imperial craftsmen judiciously reformed and disciplined were already shot through, precisely because of Mughal interest in European engravings, with the aesthetic systems that the Habsburgs sought to impose (yet again). The arrival of the Mughal miniatures at Schönbrunn thereby completed just one of many circuits by which Western goods traveled to the East and products influenced by them were shipped back to Europe.

Recognizing the geographic recursions embedded within the Schönbrunn decoupages allows (or prods) us to appreciate these European creations less as singular, ex nihilo productions than as part of a cyclical global pattern in the eighteenth century. The pictorial achievements here described constitute and crystallize multiple flows of mimesis both at the level of iconography and form, and with respect to the processes of making.[114] The discipline of the cut spanned east to west. Much like the walls at Schönbrunn, Mughal albums were themselves the products of voracious practices of cutting and pasting, collaged from dissected pieces and gathered from leaves amassed over time.[115] This was also true of iconography: chinoiserie prints designed in England and France were copied both onto sheets at Schönbrunn and onto vases in China.[116] The faithful copy of the "perfect" European original was also a global phenomenon.

Whether or not Habsburg artists would have grasped the implications of the materials that lurked just beyond the surfaces of their compositions, it behooves us to articulate them. Namely, the processes with which the Habsburgs engaged and the objects they produced were the continuation, rather than the punctuation, of cross-cultural developments of form and style.[117] And the products of the Mughal "other" from which the cut protected them were reflections, or inverted surfaces, of the self rather than thoroughly foreign creations. Though they were sophisticated and cosmopolitan consumers of goods shipped from the East, it would be fair for the Habsburgs to have missed this subtle point, for the Mughal courts had digested European pictorial materials, disciplining them within their own systems of aesthetic values. Thus, the reflection the Habsburgs would have seen was akin to one produced in a distorting mirror: slightly refracted, at once evocative and attractive, but troubling and in need of reform.

An implicit suggestion here has been that such recursive dimensions of cross-cultural transmission are perhaps best appreciated when amateur making, particularly at elite levels, is considered as a space in which ideology and aesthetics were constituted rather than simply represented.[118] While recent studies have advocated for reappraisals of "material culture" and the decorative arts, particularly where chinoiserie is concerned, they have almost invariably stressed consumption and display.[119] Instead, it is instructive to attend to spaces of making, ones where judgments were optical in nature but had to be enacted through haptic manipulation. It was in such spaces of craft that "the East" was remade at Schönbrunn, that the imperial subject offered itself up to refashioning, and that, in the process, slippages across cultures reveal themselves, both now and then, in the flips, folds, and copied lines of wrought surfaces.

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NOTES

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All translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

1. The possibility is mentioned from the earliest accounts; see Eva Irblich, "Das Unternehmen der Konservierung und Wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung der Indischen Miniaturen des Millionenzimmers von Schloss Schönbrunn in Wien," in *Texte, Noten, Bilder: Neuerwerbungen, Restaurierungen, Konservierungen, 1977–1983*, ed. Maria Flieder and Irblich (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1984), 89–92. See also Michael Elia Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa and the Politics of Habsburg Imperial Art* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2011), 134; Ebba Koch, "The 'Moghuleries' of the Millionenzimmer, Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna," in *Arts of Mughal India: Studies in Honor of Robert Skelton*, ed. Rosemary Crill et al. (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2004), 153–67.

2. A third room, the Miniaturenkabinett, is decorated with paintings and drawings by Maria Christine, Maria Antonia, and Isabella of Parma; see Elfriede Iby and Werner Telesko, "Künstlerische Erziehung der Kinder und deren Kunstproduktion," in *Maria Theresia, 1717–1780: Strategin, Mutter, Reformerin*, ed. Iby (Vienna: Schloss Schönbrunn, 2017), 272–74.

3. "Figures Chinoises Tirées D'après Boucher et Pillement. Peintes en 1763 Par sa Majesté l'Empereur, l'Archiduchesse et l'Archiduchesse Marie."

4. Elfriede Iby and Alexander Koller, *Schönbrunn* (Vienna: Verlag Christian Brandstätter, 2000), 118.

5. For a contemporary example, see Xavier Salmon, *Parler à l'âme et au coeur: La peinture selon Marie Leszczyńa* (Dijon: Faton, 2011), 84–102.

6. See Annette C. Cremer, "Kulturelle Produktion im höfischen Kontext: Methoden und Leitfragen," in *Fürst und Fürstin als Künstler: Herrschaftliches Künstlertum zwischen Habitus, Norm und Neigung*, ed. Cremer et al. (Berlin: Lukas Verlag, 2018), 28–46, esp. 35–38.

7. On Madame de Pompadour, see Susan M. Wager, "The Earliest Known Version of Madame de Pompadour's 'Suite d'Estampes' Rediscovered," *Burlington Magazine* 159 (2017): 285–89.

8. Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa*, 131–32; and Iby and Koller, *Schönbrunn*, 111–36.

9. Mimi Hellman, "Furniture, Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32 (1999): 415–45.

10. Katie Scott, "Playing Games with Otherness: Watteau's Chinese Cabinet at the Château de la Muette," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 66 (2003): 189–248, at 235.

11. As in the most sustained treatment: Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa*, 128–53.

12. On shifting valuations of Indian art, see Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reactions to Indian Art*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

13. This is the relation proposed by Johann Melchior Dinglinger's "Mughalizing" miniature metalwork stage set "The Court City of Delhi on the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb's Birthday" (1701–7, Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden); see Joachim Menzhausen, *Am Hofe des Grossmoguls* (Munich: Süddeutscher Verlag, 1965); and Larry Silver, "Images of Power: Dinglinger's Dresden Miniatures," in *Tributes to David Freedberg: Image and Insight*, ed. Claudia Swan (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2019), 327–40.

14. Claude Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon, *Le Sopha*, ed. Albert-Marie Schmidt (1742; Paris: Union Générale d'Éditions, 1996).

15. Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa*, 144.

16. As in the earliest study: Josef Strzygowski, *Die Indischen Miniaturen im Schlosse Schönbrunn* (Vienna: Wiener Drucke, 1923). See also Dorothea Duda, "Die Kaiserin und der Großmogul: Untersuchungen zu den Miniaturen des Millionenzimmers im Schloß Schönbrunn," in *Malerei auf Papier und Pergament in den Prunkräumen des Schlosses Schönbrunn*, ed. Karin K. Troschke (Vienna: Schloss Schönbrunn Kultur- und Betriebsges, 1997), 18–32.

17. M. Constantin, "Lettre écrite par M. Constantin à la Marquise de * * *. sur la nouvelle mode des Meubles en découpure," *Mercure de France*, December 1727, 2889: "Vous me demandez, Madame, ce que c'est que certains Ouvrages ausquels on vous a dit, que les Dames de Paris & de la Cour s'occupent à present. Ces Ouvrages-là, Madame, se nomment, *Découpures*. C'est ici la grande & Presque l'unique occupation des Dames, & quelques hommes s'en mêlent aussi . . . on ne veut plus que la *Découpure*. On en fait . . . Écrans, Paravents, Tentures, Plafonds, Imperiales de Carrosses, de Chaises; enfin l'on en met par tout."

18. Lasting popularity is evidenced by legal disputes: Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 249, 304.

19. For a history of paper cutting, see Sigrid Metken, *Geschnittenes Papier: Eine Geschichte des Ausschneidens in Europa von 1500 bis Heute* (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey, 1978), 102–5, on these publishers.

20. Johann Georg Krünitz, *Oekonomische Encyklopädie. . . .* (Berlin: Pauli, 1773–1858), accessed December 8, 2017, http://www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/: "Kupferstiche, welche nur zum Ausschneiden gemacht sind, und die auf Pappe, Holz, Mauern etc. geklebt werden. Man überfährt nehmlich solche mit Gummiwasser, und hernach mit einem weißen Firniß, bis alles so glatt, wie ein Spiegel, ist."

21. On the connection, see Hans Huth, *Lacquer of the West: The History of a Craft and an Industry, 1550–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

22. Daniëlle O. Kisluk-Grosheide, "Cutting Up Berchems, Watteaus, and Audrans: A 'Lacca Povera' Secretary at the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (1996): 81–97.

23. Robert Sayer, *The Ladies Amusement; or, Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy* (London: Robert Sayer, 1760). Subsequent editions were released in 1762 and 1769.

24. On tools, see Kohleen Reeder, "The 'Paper Mosaick' Practice of Mrs. Delany & Her Circle," in *Mrs. Delany & Her Circle*, ed. Mark Laird and Alicia Weisberg-Roberts (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2009), 225–35.

25. Maria Gordon-Smith, "Jean Pillement at the Court of Maria Theresa and Francis I in Vienna (1763 to 1765)," *Artibus et Historiae* 25 (2004): 187–213; and Cornelia Juen, "Linien der Meister und Laien: Das Blaue Kabinett in Schloss Schönbrunn" (master's thesis, Universität Wien, 2015), 23–24, 59n378.

26. See Gordon-Smith, "Jean Pillement at the Court of Maria Theresa," 187–213. On Pillement and Sayer in London, see Maria Gordon-Smith, *Pillement* (Cracow: IRSA, 2006), 33–91, esp. 33–52.

27. On Pillement's design, see Iby and Koller, *Schönbrunn*, 118–20. On engraved sources, see Gordon-Smith, *Pillement*, 101–7; and Juen, "Linien der Meister und Laien."

28. Robert Sayer, *The Artist's Vade Mecum: Being the whole art of drawing taught in a new work. . . .* (London: Robert Sayer, 1762).

29. For the closest comparison, see Stacey Sloboda, "Surface Contact: Decoration in the Chinese Taste," in *Qing Encounters: Artistic Exchanges between China and the West*, ed. Petra T. Chu and Ding Ning (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2015), 248–63; see also Ellen Kennedy Johnson, "'The Taste for Bringing the Outside In': Nationalism, Gender and Landscape Wallpaper (1700–1825)," in *Women and Material Culture, 1660–1830*, ed. Jennie Batchelor and Cora Kaplan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 119–33.

30. Charlotte-Elisabeth Aïssé, *Lettres de Mademoiselle Aïssé à Madame C. . . . qui contiennent plusieurs anecdotes de l'histoire du tems, depuis l'année 1726 jusqu'en 1733* (Paris: La Grange, 1787), 97: "On est ici dans le fureur de la mode, pour découper des estampes enluminées . . . on fait des tapisseries, des paravents, des écrans; il y a des livres d'estampes qui coutent jusqu'à 200 livres, & des femmes qui ont la folie de découper des estampes de 100 L. pièce; si cela continue, ils découperont des Raphaël."

31. Constantin, "Lettre écrite par M. Constantin," 2899: "Cette mode a fait monter les Images & les Estampes à un prix extraordinaire; & comme il y a peu de Marchands qui en vendent . . . leurs Boutiques ne désemplissent point."

32. On potential networks and agents, see Dorothea Duda, "Das Millionenzimmer im Schloss Schönbrunn," in Flieder and Irblich, *Texte, Noten, Bilder*, 113–21, esp. 115–16; idem, "Die Kaiserin und der Großmogul," 34–35; and Koch, "The 'Moghuleries' of the Millionenzimmer."

33. The volumes in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (hereafter ÖNB), are Cod. min. 44 and Cod. min. 64.

34. ÖNB, Cod. min. 44, IV: "Reçue de S. Mjté. le 8me juillet 1762."

35. On elite amateur practice, applicable beyond its Parisian focus, see Charlotte Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2008).

36. See Cremer et al., *Fürst und Fürstin als Künstler*.

37. A useful overview of Maria Theresa's ascension appears in Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa*, 13–28.

38. Regina Schulte, "Conceptual Approaches to the Queen's Body," in *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World, 1500–2000*, ed. Schulte (New York: Bergahn Books, 2006), 1–12, esp. 8–11; and Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa*, esp. 4–8.

39. On Viennese imperial education, discussing artistic training throughout, see Friederike Wachter, "Die

Erziehung der Kinder Maria Theresias" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1968).

40. For the closest attention to process, primarily for stylistic attribution, see Cornelia Juen, "Künstlerische Ambitionen innerhalb der Familie: Die Blaugouachen im Schönbrunner Porzellanzimmer unter der Lupe," in Iby, *Maria Theresia, 1717–1780*, 155–59.

41. On this collection and Boucher's subsequent fame, see Colin B. Bailey, "Conventions of the Eighteenth-Century Cabinet de Tableaux: Blondel d'Azincourt's 'La première idée de la curiosité,'" *Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (1987): 431–47; and Alastair Laing, "Boucher—a Painter or a Draftsman Born," in *The Drawings of François Boucher*, ed. Laing (London: Scala, 2003), 21–37.

42. The first to locate extant used prints was Juen, "Linien der Meister und Laien," esp. 169–211. I thank Cornelia Juen for our correspondence about transfer.

43. See Charlotte Guichard, "Les 'livres à dessiner' à l'usage des amateurs à Paris au XVIIIe siècle," *Revue de l'Art* 143 (2004): 49–58.

44. This was akin to practices in amateur etching; see Charlotte Guichard, "Amateurs and the Culture of Etching," in *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18th-Century France*, ed. Perrin Stein (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 137–55, esp. 149–51.

45. On tracing paper, see Claude Laroque, "History and Analysis of Transparent Papers," *Paper Conservator* 28 (2004): 17–32; and John Krill, *English Artists' Paper: Renaissance to Regency*, 2nd ed. (Winterthur, DE: Oak Knoll Press and Winterthur Museum, 2002), 147.

46. Charles-Antoine Jombert, *Méthode pour apprendre le dessin. . . .* (1755; Paris: Jombert, 1784), 125–27.

47. The process is evidenced by registration/guide marks on contemporary copies made by Maria Christine from prints by Edmé Bouchardon; see Albertina, Vienna, inv. nos. 13651, 13652, among others.

48. Sayer, *The Artist's Vade Mecum*, 7, went so far as to say that the outline must be "conquered"; Sayer printed some compositions twice (such as plate 87) to illustrate outline/contour and added shading, respectively. See also Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art*, 247–48.

49. Rena M. Hoisington and Perrin Stein, "Sous les Yeux de Fragonard: The Prints of Marguerite Gérard," *Print Quarterly* 29 (2012): 142–62.

50. Specific materials are reported in Doris Müller-Hess, "Konservatorische Maßnahmen an den 212 Grafiken des Porzellanzimmers/Dokumentation," conservation report, Leitung Forschung und Dokumentation, Schloß Schönbrunn, 2014.

51. See, for instance, Albertina, inv. nos. Frankreich II/43/S.111/GG29318; Frankreich II/43/S.77/GG29268; Frankreich II/52/S.91.

52. Some have thus speculated that Pillement supplied freehand designs or even produced some sheets entirely himself; see Gordon-Smith, *Pillement*, 104–5.

53. Elfriede Iby, "L'éducation artistique des enfants impériaux," in *Marie-Antoinette*, ed. Laurence Posselle (Paris: Galeries Nationales d'Expositions du Grand Palais, 2008), 54–67; Wachter, "Die Erziehung der Kinder Maria Theresias," 174–75, 189–94; and Cornelia Reiter, "Jakob Matthias Schmutzer und seine Schule: Zur Stil- und Geschmacksbildung an der Wiener Akademie," in *Das Zeitalter Maria Theresias: Meisterwerke des Barock* (Luxemburg: Musée National d'Histoire d'Art Luxemburg, 2006), 132–39.

54. See Michael Yonan, "Nobility and Domestic Conviviality in the Paintings of Archduchess Maria Christine," *Theatrum Historiae* 4 (2009): 135–54; central works, however, have been reattributed to Isabella of Parma in Iby, *Maria Theresia, 1717–1780*, 272–74.

55. Iby, "L'éducation artistique," 54.

56. See Barbara Dossi, *Albertina: Sammlungsgeschichte und Meisterwerke* (Munich: Prestel, 1998), esp. 16–26, 46–47; on Maria Christine's involvement, see Sandra Hertel, "Erzherzogin Maria Christine: Die 'Maîtresse en titre' der Kaiserin," in *Die Gründung der Albertina: Herzog Albert und seine Zeit*, ed. Christian Benedik and Klaus Albrecht Schröder (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2014), 35–53.

57. See Guichard, *Les amateurs d'art*, 57–90, 239–99.

58. Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. George Bull (London: Penguin Classics, 1976), 96.

59. See Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 4–6.

60. Ibid., 9–14.

61. On translations and revivals, see Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1995), 117–57.

62. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (1756; La Salle, IL: Open Court, 1987), 2: "Der gute Geschmack, welcher sich mehr und mehr durch die Welt ausbreitet, hat sich angefangen zuerst unter dem griechischen Himmel zu bilden."

63. Ibid., 8: "wie Aristoteles berichtet, ihre Kinder im Zeichnen unterrichten ließen, vornehmlich weil sie glaubten, daß es geschickter mache, die Schönheit in den Körpern zu betrachten und zu beurteilen."

64. Ibid.: "Es ist auch bekannt, wie sorgfältig die Griechen waren, schöne Kinder zu zeugen. . . ."

65. On the broader philosophical frame, see George Dickie, *The Century of Taste: The Philosophical Odyssey of Taste in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

66. For a useful discussion, see Whitney Davis, *Queer Beauty: Sexuality and Aesthetics from Winckelmann to Freud and Beyond* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), esp. 27–36.

67. On aesthetics and physiognomics, see David Bindman, *Ape to Apollo: Aesthetics and the Idea of Race in the 18th Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), esp. 36–58; and Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexions of Race: Theories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

68. See Bindman, *Ape to Apollo*, 36–47.

69. Johann Caspar Lavater, *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntnis und Menschenliebe*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reichen, 1775–78). On the print, see David Bindman, "Frog to Apollo: A French Print after Lavater and Pre-Darwinian Theories of Evolution," *Print Quarterly* 28 (2011): 392–95; and idem, *Ape to Apollo*, 209–21.

70. On von Mechel at the Viennese court, see Lukas Heinrich Wütrich, *Christian von Mechel: Leben und Werk eines Basler Kupferstechers und Kunsthändlers (1737–1817)* (Basel: Verlag von Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1956), 146–70. On the Gemäldegalerie, Vienna, see Gudrun Swoboda, ed., *Die kaiserliche Gemäldegalerie in Wien und die Anfänge des öffentlichen Kunstmuseums* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013).

71. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, vol. 2 (Dresden: Walther, 1764), 392–94.

72. Anthony Ashley Cooper, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times: With a Collection of Letters*, vol. 1 (1711; Basel: J. J. Rouneisen and J. L. Legrand, 1790), 292.

73. Ibid., 293, emphasis in the original.

74. On the sociopolitical ramifications of aesthetics, see Charlotte Klonk, "The National Gallery and Its Public," in *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650–1850*, ed. Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 228–50; on drawing specifically, see Kim Sloan, *"A Noble Art": Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c. 1600–1800* (London: British Museum, 2000), 103–9.

75. Winckelmann, *Gedanken ueber die Nachahmung*, 20: "Ich glaube, ihre Nachahmung könne lehren, geschwinder klug zu werden . . . sie wird lehren, mit Sicherheit zu denken und zu entwerfen, indem sie hier die höchsten Grenzen des menschlich und zugleich des göttlich Schönen bestimmt siehet."

76. For such a decree, see Eduard R. v. Engerth, *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses: Gemälde; Beschreibendes Verzeichniss*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Selbstverlag der Direction, 1882), XLIX–L. This was part of broader educational reforms; see Karl Vocelka, "Aufbruch in neue Zeiten: Der Reformeifer Maria Theresias," in Iby, *Maria Theresia, 1717–1780*, 44–56, at 51–53, 56. For the display at the Stallburg and the Belvedere Palaces, see Gudrun Swoboda, *Die Wege der Bilder: Eine Geschichte der kaiserlichen Gemäldesammlungen von 1600 bis 1800* (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 2008), 111–23.

77. See the still comprehensive Alfred Ritter von Arneth, *Geschichte Maria Theresia's*, vol. 9 (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1879), 276–81; and Cornelia Reiter, "Zeichnung, Malerei und Druckgraphik im 18. Jahrhundert: Modalitäten und Interaktionen," in *Das Zeitalter Maria Theresias*, 22–33.

78. On Boucher's historiographic legacy, see Melissa Hyde, *Making Up the Rococo: François Boucher and His Critics* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006).

79. On this series, see Perrin Stein, "Boucher's Chinoiseries: Some New Sources," *Burlington Magazine* 138 (1996): 598–604.

80. See Katie Scott, "Reproduction and Reputation: 'François Boucher' and the Formation of Artistic Identities," in *Rethinking Boucher*, ed. Melissa Hyde and Mark Ledbury (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2006), 91–132; Gordon-Smith, *Pillement*, 101–35; and idem, "Jean Pillement at the Court of Maria Theresa." Boucher's title of *peintre du roi* appeared in the earliest collections of his works; see *L'oeuvre décorative peinte et gravée de Jean Pillement: Premier peintre du Roi de Pologne et de la Reine Marie-Antoinette* (Paris: Moreau, 19–).

81. On porcelain displays, see Tessa Murdoch, "Les cabinets de porcelains," in *Pagodes et dragons: Exotisme et fantasie dans l'Europe rococo 1720–70*, ed. Georges Brunel (Paris: Paris-Musées, 2007), 42–49; and Maxine Berg, "Asian Luxuries and the Making of the European Consumer Revolution," in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. Berg and Elizabeth Eger (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), esp. 239–40.

82. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 5 vols. (New York: Readex Microprint, 1969), 4: suppl., 506–7.

83. Ibid., 13:110: "*Des peintres sur la porcelaine . . .* ils ne pourroient passer en Europe que pour des apprentis de quelques mois. Toute la science de ces peintres chinois n'est fondée sur aucun principe, & ne consiste que dans une certaine routine, aidée d'un tour d'imagination assez bornée. Ils ignorent toutes les belles regles de cet art."

84. On shifting valuations of Chinese aesthetics, see Christopher M. S. Johns, *China and the Church: Chinoiserie in a Global Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016).

85. Maria Gordon-Smith, "The Influence of Jean Pillement on French and English Decorative Arts," pt. 1, *Artibus et Historiae* 21 (2000): 171–96, esp. 175–77.

86. David Porter, "Chinoiserie and the Aesthetics of Illegitimacy," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 28 (1999): 27–54.

87. Omitted frames are noted in Gordon-Smith, *Pillement*, 104.

88. Charles Léoffroy de Saint-Yves, quoted and translated in Alastair Laing, *François Boucher, 1703–1770* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1986), 202.

89. *Pace* David Porter, "Monstruous Beauty: Eighteenth-Century Fashion and the Aesthetics of the Chinese Taste," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (2002): 395–411, esp. 409n2.

90. Michael E. Yonan, "Igneous Architecture: Porcelain, Natural Philosophy, and the Rococo *Cabinet Chinois*," in *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, ed. Alden Cavanaugh and Yonan (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 65–85.

91. On the early history of Prussian blue, see Sarah Lowengard, "Prussian Blue: Transfers and Trials," in *The Materiality of Color: The Production, Circulation, and Application of Dyes and Pigments, 1400–1800*, ed. Andrea Feeser et al. (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 167–81.

92. Ibid., 173–75; and Jamie Mulherron, "Prussian Blue, Boucher, and Newton: The Material, the Practice, and the Theory of Rococo Painting," *Object* 3 (2001–2): 68–93.

93. This thinking is indebted to Kristel Smentek, *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2014), 139–89; Jean-François Bédard, *Decorative Games: Ornament, Rhetoric, and Noble Culture in the Work of Gilles-Marie Oppenord (1672–1742)* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011); and David Pullins, "The State of the Fashion Plate, c. 1727: Historicizing Fashion between 'Dressed Prints' and Dezallier's *Recueils*," in *Prints in Translation, 1450–1750: Image, Materiality, Space*, ed. Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Edward Wouk (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2017), 136–57.

94. Robert Sayer, *The Ladies Amusement; or, Whole Art of Japanning Made Easy*, 2nd ed. (London: Robert Sayer, 1762), 3.

95. This reading of Sayer and the potential for an aesthetics of propriety in decoupage runs counter to that of Stacey Sloboda, *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 117–31.

96. Sayer, *The Ladies Amusement*, 4.

97. On the "irrational" pictorial uses of elephants, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Of Elephants and Porcelain," *French Porcelain Society Journal* 1 (2003): 113–30.

98. Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt Drawings* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009), 174–75, 236nn.

99. *Pace* an account of Rembrandt's "faithful" copying, as in Sanjay Subramanyam, "A Room Full of Mirrors: The Artful Embrace of Mughals and Franks, 1550–1700," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2010): 39–83. On such European engagements with Mughal miniatures, see Corinna Forberg, *Die Rezeption indischer Miniaturen in der europäischen Kunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2015), 15–45.

100. On elite turning, see Maraike Bückling and Sabine Haag, eds., *Elfenbein: Barocke Pracht am Wiener Hof* (Frankfurt: Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, 2011), specifically, Astrid Scherp's "Elfenbeinkunst am Münchner Hof," 223–29.

101. Klaus Maurice, *Der Drechselnde Souverän: Materialen zu einer fürstlichen Maschinenkunst* (Zurich: Verlag Ineichen, 1985), 19–20.

102. Johann Martin Teuber, *Vollständiger Unterricht von der gemeinen und höhern Dreh-Kunst*, 3rd ed. (Regensburg: Johann Baptist Lang, 1769), n.p.: "Die Dreh-Kunst is ein Werk, das Göttern nur geziemt. Als Chur- und Fürsten diß und Könige gesehen, so zogen Sie sie gleich mit gröster Lust herfür. Ja Adler die die Welt mit Ruhm beherrschen, drehen. . . . Die Dreh-Kunst aber gibt dir mästiges Bewegen / Die stärcket den Verstand / und heylet deinen Leib."

103. Ibid., n.p.: "Man dreht hier nichts als Gold, das Holz bleibt weggeschoben / Nur Perl und Helffenbein / und was uns Japon reicht. . . . Wer sonst es dann verneinen / Daß dise Dreh-Kunst sey die schönste auf der Welt."

104. Ibid., 199–200.

105. See ÖNB, inv. no. ZALT PRUNK 79.E.8.

106. The paneling was likely made for the Belvedere Palace between 1752 and 1755 and moved after the completion of the collages in 1766; see Oskar Raschauer, "Geschichte der Innenausstattung des Lustschlosses Schönbrunn" (PhD diss., Universität Wien, 1926), 255; and Iby and Koller, *Schönbrunn*, 159.

107. This was part of broader trends of cutting and reframing Eastern products; see Kristel Smentek, *Rococo Exotic: French Mounted Porcelains and the Allure of the East* (New York: Frick Collection, 2007), esp. 9–10. A comparison could also be made to Schönbrunn's Vieux-Laque Zimmer, where Asian screens were cut up (though not re-formed, as in the Millionenzimmer) and inserted into gold frames in the room's wood paneling; see Yonan, *Empress Maria Theresa*, 97–99.

108. Sloboda, "Surface Contact," 248–63.

109. Ibid., 253–54.

110. On the restoration, see Karin K. Troschke and Helga Rosenberger, "Eine barocke Collage: Die Restaurierung der Mogulminiaturen aus dem 'Millionenzimmer' des Schlosses Schönbrunn," in Troschke, *Malerei auf Papier und Pergament*, 18–32.

111. Bartolomeo Ricci, *Vita D. N. Iesu Christi* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1607). My thanks to Almerindo Ojeda for helping to identify this print.

112. See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "The Indian Conquest of Catholic Art: The Mughals, the Jesuits, and Imperial Mural Painting," *Art Journal* 57 (1998): 24–30; Ebba Koch, "Netherlandish Naturalism in Imperial Mughal Painting," *Apollo* 465 (2000): 29–37; and Yael Rice, "Lines of Perception: European Prints and the Mughal *Kitābkhāna*," in Schmidt and Wouk, *Prints in Translation*, 203–33.

113. See Karin Jahoda-Troschke, "Die Restaurierung der Mogulminiaturen im Millionenzimmer von Schloss Schönbrunn," in Flieder and Irblich, *Texte, Noten, Bilder*, 93–107; for photographs, see Troschke and Rosenberger, "Eine barocke Collage," 19–20.

114. Natasha Eaton, *Mimesis across Empires: Artworks and Networks in India 1765–1860* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013), 9–10, 21–39; and Subramanyam, "A Room Full of Mirrors."

115. Yael Rice, "The Global Aspirations of the Mughal Album," in *Rembrandt and the Inspiration of India*, ed. Stephanie Schrader (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2018), 61–77.

116. Chinese export porcelain was made using European prints; see *Treasures of Chinese Export Ceramics from the Peabody Essex Museum* (Salem, MA: Peabody Essex Museum, 2012); and Rose Kerr and Luisa E. Mengoni, *Chinese Export Ceramics* (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), esp. 59–79.

117. For a period actor articulating this relationship, see Smentek, *Mariette and the Science of the Connoisseur*, 139–40.

118. Though not cross-cultural, the intersection of collage and natural science is explored in Laird and Weisberg-Roberts, *Mrs. Delany & Her Circle*; see also Stacey Sloboda, "Displaying Materials: Porcelain and Natural History in the Duchess of Portland's Museum," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 43 (2010): 455–72.

119. See Sloboda, *Chinoiserie*; and David Porter, *The Chinese Taste in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).